

JPRS-WER-84-028

12 March 1984

West Europe Report

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12 March 1984

WEST EUROPE REPORT

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KOMISSAROV LETTER: USSR SEES CRUISE AS FIRST STRIKE WEAPON

Columnist Sees New Interpretation

Helsinki SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI in Finnish 26 Jan 84 p 3

[Commentary by Osmo Apunen]

[Text] I am not at all convinced that the discussion regarding Yuriy Komissarov's article concerning nuclear weapons (HELSINGIN SANOMAT 15 Jan 84) has settled on the right tracks. This, of course, could be due to the way I look at things from the perspective of the boondoc's of Toijala, free from the anguish of knowledge which is part of life at the Helsinki clubs.

I think, so I am. Philosopher Descartes would say--if he were alive.

The discussion has given rise to a kind of spanking theory. According to this theory, Komissarov would have wanted to give a slight spanking to certain recognizable Finns because of their erroneous views. According to this theory, some Finns have been found guilty of underestimating the significance of nuclear weapons. The whole thing would be corrected if the parties in question were to hurry up and announce that that is not at all the way it is. That nuclear weapons really are dangerous weapons to be taken seriously. The lesson would be learned.

First of all, one should say that the discussion in Finland concerning nuclear weapons has been guided, slightly under the surface, by two thoughts approved even in the highest circles. One has been that the theme about nuclear war raised by the peace movements must not be allowed to shake the faith in our own national defense and its systematic development. Those advocating defense policies have wanted to eliminate nuclear war from the discussion. Thus the field would be left free for a war image that would fit the development plans for our national defense.

Finland is following a definite armament policy which is essentially only threatened by viewing this action as an unnecessary investment of social resources. This sense of needlessness is created by either the fact that war will be unlikely due to detente policies, for example, or, that war will become technically too advanced for us to have any say.

This has been the logic in the discussion going on in Finland. I don't believe that Yuriy Komissarov would have wanted to take issue with that. Therefore, the spanking theory is leading us astray.

The other current under the surface leads to the view held by our foreign policy leadership that in a small country like Finland, we can't afford a public discussion on matters for which official answers do not exist. This kind of discussion only causes concerns and undermines citizens' faith in the political leadership. The discussion on nuclear war is like this in nature as we do not have an answer to the question of how Finland would fare in a nuclear war. Therefore, one should not ask.

This logic of silence has led to the manner in which the recent issues of nuclear weaponry, cruise missiles in particular, have been approached. There has been a desire to circumvent the issue by defining these weapons as political. Political problems have political solutions. A political solution has been offered to the problem created by the cruise missiles, namely the possibility that the United States would program the flightpaths of these weapons to avoid Finnish and Swedish territories. Whoever wants to believe this can do so; Komissarov does not believe so.

Another possibility has been offered by the experts explaining the nature and flightpaths of these weapons as posing no problems to us. In this manner we have ended up with the views that it is only the future weapons that will pose problems to us due to their technological characteristics and their placement. Komissarov wants to refute this interpretation as well.

The gist of the Komissarov article is the fact that he refutes the political nature of the cruise missiles.

Arms and arms systems are naturally not defined as military or political based on their technical characteristics. The issue is whether they are given primarily political or military significance. Various war doctrines will define the significance.

In Finland, we have wanted to see the cruise missiles as a political problem, as part of the balance of fear between the superpowers which aims at preventing nuclear war. In order to maintain the credibility of this doctrine of scare tactics, the United States has adopted a view on nuclear war which implies readiness not only to use scare tactics with nuclear weapons but also to wage nuclear war. This view of nuclear war crystallizes into the question of readiness and the right to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The initiative in using nuclear weapons contains two possibilities: a broad, strategic first strike to destroy the opposition's nuclear weapons and to prevent their use for retaliation; first use, where nuclear weapons would be included in military operations as determined by military considerations.

The Komissarov article might be a bit confusing due to his choice of words which seems to indicate that he is talking about cruise missiles as first strike weapons. The point, however, is the fact that the issue is cruise missiles as first use weapons.

Now we arrive at the core question of Komissarov's article. My understanding, arrived at here in the boondocks of Toijala, is that Komissarov demands that we approach cruise missiles as first use weapons. That again means that they are of decisively military significance. I think that the most significant message is the fact that it indicates willingness of the Soviet Union to discuss these weapons from the point of view of waging nuclear war. Thus, the issue is that of a theory development, which is new.

The Soviet doctrine regarding nuclear war has been developing gradually from the 1960's. As Raimo Vayrynen notes in his book "Ydinaseet ja suurvaltapolitiikka" [Nuclear Weapons and Big Powers Politics]--referring to Western estimates--a new element, corresponding to developments that have taken place in the West, has been added to the Soviet military doctrine at regular intervals. According to this development of doctrine, the possibility of limited strategic nuclear war was included in the early 1970's, after that, the so called Euro strategic alternative. According to these estimates the Soviet military doctrine will in the 1980's include the possibility of tactical nuclear war.

Naturally, the Komissarov article does not necessarily prove that this is true. But the logically unavoidable result remains that the Soviet Union, due to the current crisis, may be revising her nuclear weapons doctrine. There, too, nuclear weapons can be looked at as a part of the total picture of modern warfare. Thus, nuclear weapons change from political weapons to military weapons. The difference between the use of nuclear weapons and conventional war fades away.

If we now assume that the Komissarov article should be seen as a reflection of a change in the Soviet doctrine regarding nuclear weapons, instead of accepting the spanking theory, this is a very serious matter to us. At least, we have to take very seriously. This is the way the East-West crisis is reflected in the North.

An examination of the Komissarov article in the light of doctrine development raises important questions as far as Finland's foreign policy leadership is concerned. In his book "Linjaviitat" [Policy Roadmarks], President Koivisto has defined his attitudes regarding nuclear weapons. He considers them primarily political weapons without actual military purposes. He does not, however, exclude the possibility that these weapons could be used. He also points out that the development of doctrine regarding these weapons will affect the Scandinavian countries. In the speech given at the United Nations, a stand was taken in regard to nuclear weapons, but at the same time an attempt was made to make it clear that Finland wanted to stay out of the discussion concerning nuclear weapon doctrines. This was the message of Jaakko Kalela, which was then totally confused in the ensuing discussion of the topic.

If we now evaluate Komissarov's article from this point of view, development of doctrine and discussion, we notice that matters are being examined from that very problematic point of view that President Koivisto did not want to embrace by stating his views. The doctrine of nuclear weapons as political weapons has now been challenged, discreetly but clearly. What is one to do now?

Editorial Opinion Roundup

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 26 Jan 84 p 10

[Text] "Cruise Missiles and Northern Europe," an article by Soviet observer Yuriy Komissarov published in HELSINGIN SANOMAT through news agency APN, rekindled the discussion on Euro-missiles in Finland.

Komissarov warned about underestimating the danger involved in the deployment of Euro-missiles, which could lead to serious policy miscalculations.

Earlier, TIEDONANTAJA has pointed out examples of trivializing and underestimating the danger posed by these missiles, for example, before the official visit to Moscow by Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen.

Jarmo Virmavirta, editor-in-chief of TURUN SANOMAT, has characterized the Komissarov article as extra homework which is needed when the student has forgotten something.

According to Virmavirta, it is almost impossible to think that, when necessary, cruise missiles would not be flying over Sweden and Finland.

Who Is Komissarov?

Quite a few editors-in-chief, inspired by Komissarov, have grabbed their pens and left their own mark in the discussion raging over the issue of cruise missiles.

It is generally acknowledged that Komissarov is an authoritative pen name, whose thoughts reflect official Soviet thinking. Hardly anyone questions Komissarov's credentials in that respect any more.

Erkki Pennanen, political section chief of HELSINGIN SANOMAT, states that "the Soviet pen name Yuriy Komissarov makes his appearances rather sparingly and only when it is felt in the Soviet Union that Finland is misinterpreting Soviet views on issues concerning the relations between the two countries or the security of the North."

Nevertheless, the editorial of the paper quite readily attacks Komissarov's conclusions, accusing the writer of "exaggeration" and of imagining that "a few hundred slow and clumsy missiles" would decisively change the situation.

According to the military political expert of the paper, Pauli Jarvenpaa, who often reflects NATO views, Komissarov lacks common sense in his estimates. A rather critical view, in other words.

First Strike Weapon

Komissarov pointed out that cruise missiles can be used "in an intensified nuclear strike which will be directed at practically all targets in Soviet Europe including its vital centers. In fact, they can be characterized as strategic weapons, which are typical first strike weapons and an important, integral part of the American 'first strike' doctrine."

In the view of HELSINGIN SANOMAT, the cruise missile is "too slow and vulnerable to launch a surprise attack." It is the opinion of the editorial writer--and his backers--that the cruise missile simply is not a first strike weapon.

UUSI SUOMI also tries to cast a cloud over Komissarov's expertise by stating that "in the discussion regarding cruise missiles, the most essential point is not what kind of weapons they actually are, but how they are perceived."

But even a blind man can sometimes see. UUSI SUOMI does understand that Komissarov "had particularly wanted to underline the fact that cruise missiles must be taken seriously, both politically and militarily."

ABO UNDERRATTELSEER as well understands the statements underestimating the danger posed by the cruise missiles and considers them "very sensible." According to the newspaper, "both for geographical, strategic and political reasons" it is very "wise" for the NATO strategists to route the cruise missiles along the Norwegian coast towards their targets in the Murmansk area. In this manner, you see, "all political complications with Finland and Sweden will be avoided." Surely that will be a first concern of the United States and NATO in an attack situation.

In contrast, editor-in-chief of KALEVA, Teuvo Mallinen considers it "rather naive wishful thinking to believe that in a real situation Finnish and Swedish air space would remain inviolable just because of our blue eyes."

Against the Loathsome East

True to form, the chief editorial writer of KOUVOLAN SANOMAT faithfully follows the most blatant extreme right wing policy line. He suggests that Finns get ready to defend themselves against Soviet missiles.

Even HELSINGIN SANOMAT demands that the "republic be defended to every direction." The chief editorial writer even accuses, in his thinly disguised manner, the Soviet Union for trying to change the situation in northern Europe.

Editor-in-chief Erkki Laatikainen of KESKISUOMALAINEN believes that the kinds of questions concerning actions against Soviet missiles that have been presented in our domestic media with straight faces have not been carefully considered.

According to Laatikainen, this is the way to guide the discussion to the direction desired by the NATO generals and on into a morass.

Also KANSAN UUTISET has noticed a certain carefree element in evaluations regarding military policy changes by the Finnish experts.

The paper could have made this observation long before, not until after Komissarov had tackled the question. Just before Foreign Minister Vayrynen's December trip to Moscow, KANSAN UUTISET did its best to put distance between itself and the warnings concerning the Euro-missiles by the SKDL representative Mikko Kuoppa.

HAMEEN YHTEISTYÖ, on the other hand, recalls in its editorial that it was Kuoppa in particular who pointed out the dangers posed by the cruise missiles and suggested that we examine the issue on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (YYA) together with our treaty partner.

There are quite a few papers stressing the significance of the YYA Treaty, reminding us of the timeliness of the military articles of the treaty.

POHJOLAN SANOMAT, on the other hand, sets the development of Finland's own defense readiness against the obligations of the YYA Treaty. The idea is to raise the so called consultation threshold by raising Finland's own military preparations.

Nuclear Free North

Almost all editorials--with the exception of HELSINGIN SANOMAT--stress taking action to create a nuclear free North, taking their cue from Komissarov.

SUOMENMAA suggests that we remember that the solid foundation for Finnish-Soviet relations is the fact that the Soviet Union is not threatened in any way from the Finnish border. It is both to our advantage and to the advantage of the Soviet Union, the paper states, stressing the importance of speeding up negotiations for nuclear free North.

The chief editorial writer for HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, Rafael Paro, also believes that there are several elements in the North "ready to go" to create a nuclear free zone. It is high time that Europe would experience some kind of a breakthrough in this respect, Paro states.

It is difficult to say anything about the editorial in DEMARI [SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI]. As it happens, there has not been one concerning the Komissarov article. And the paper did not consider it necessary to treat the article as a news item either.

8200

CSO: 3617/92

ISLAM RECRUITMENT, PROPAGANDA BY KHOMEYNI AGENTS

Paris LE MONDE in French 29-30 Jan 84 p 12

[Article by J.-M. Durand-Souffland]

[Text] The spokesmen for the Tehran regime have \$1 million per month at their disposal for their propaganda in Europe. And Iran has a score to settle with France.

"In just a few weeks' time, my parents and I saw my sister change completely. She was 19 years old at the time and preparing carefully for her baccalaureat at a Paris lycee. She was a practicing Moslem, but not excessively zealous or ostentatious about it. She attended the Paris Mosque regularly. That was unquestionably where she met Iranian and Lebanese Shiites who convinced her very quickly that Islam 'was to become the greatest power in the world.'"

The story told by S., a 23-year-old Algerian woman who was born in France of Kabyle parents, is typical in many respects. Like her sister F., dozens of Moslems of both sexes, generally young and mostly natives of North Africa--both Africans and French converts to Islam--allow themselves to be similarly caught in the traps skillfully laid by the "missionaries" of Khomeyni ideology--men whose methods strangely resemble those used throughout the world, often with success, by the "recruiting sergeants" for Asian sects.

Let us allow S. to tell what happened next: "The result was that overnight, my sister quit the lycee for good to devote herself to new studies. She began faithfully attending the politicoreligious classes taught by officials at the Islamic Cultural Center on rue Jean-Bart.* Obeying the instructions of her new teachers, she immediately tried, but in vain, to persuade us to follow her in the path she had chosen."

After a few months had passed, F. announced to her family with no warning at all that she was going to marry a young Algerian 1 year older than herself and a Kabyle like her. She had met him at the center on rue Jean-Bart. Nothing

* The French Government ordered the center closed last 23 December and simultaneously expelled three diplomats whose activities were directly linked to that center (see LE MONDE, 25-26 December and 28 December 1983).

could dissuade her. To the family's surprise, a furnished apartment had been made available to the newlyweds, with the rent and other expenses being paid on their behalf.

S. continued: "But 2 months later, they suddenly had to give it up. That was when they were sent to Iran, where they spent just over 2 months in what they told us was an 'Islamic school in Qom.'" F. has now returned to live with her parents. Her husband is absent from Monday to Friday--supposedly visiting the provinces as an "inspector" of Moslem butcher shops--and rejoins her each weekend.

Concerned to learn more about those who had so skillfully outwitted her sister, S. also visited the center on rue Jean-Bart. "They immediately wanted to know who I was, where I lived, what I did, and how I supported myself--it was a real police interrogation, conducted courteously but firmly! I had to answer their questions if I did not want the interview to end right there, and I am sure that my answers were checked out."

The indoctrination meetings began over the next few days. For hours at a time, a Lebanese visibly skilled in brainwashing techniques undertook to persuade S. of the validity of Islamic fundamentalist doctrines. S. says: "For those people, every Moslem, whether man or woman, young or old, must fight to see that divine law triumphs, since that is the only solution for saving from sin a corrupt world living in error, injustice, and poverty. All the talk I heard was based on the condition of the underprivileged and oppressed, whose fate is the fault of the leaders of their respective countries. A gradual attempt is made to convince the listener of his or her full responsibility for such a state of things by remarks like this: 'What have you done--you who call yourself a Moslem--to change all that? Nothing? Then it is time to redeem yourself! Come join us and our struggle!'"

Quite obviously, the new fundamentalist "crusade" that Imam Khomeyni has been preaching since the proclamation of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on a solidly structured organization whose command post is located--not surprisingly--in the Iranian capital. It is reportedly Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, chairman of the Iranian Parliament, who personally heads up that army of "preachers" who are now present--and very active--in most of the countries of West Europe, North Africa, and black Africa and in the Moslem countries of Southeast Asia.

Three Main Approaches

In the opinion of some people, the hatred that Rafsanjani is said to feel for France has led him, especially since the delivery of the Super Etendard aircraft to Iraq and then the incident in Baalbek, to make our country his prime target. One Iranian opponent told us: "It is as though he had a personal score to settle with you." With a monthly budget estimated at about \$1 million for financing its propaganda activities in West Europe alone (Scandinavia excluded), the organization is able to act with complete impunity, or almost, thanks to the privileged relay stations represented by the Islamic republic's embassies. In this respect, the recent expulsion of three Iranian diplomats stationed in Paris shows that the French intelligence service knew for a fact that the

embassy on Iena Avenue was sheltering more than just "charges d'affaires" or "attaches" attending to the usual diplomatic duties.

Islamic propaganda in France is apparently organized around three main lines of action. The first is intended to be diplomatic and therefore "legal" in all circumstances. It is reportedly headed by Hosein Karimi, former chef de cabinet to Prime Minister Hosein Musavi. Karimi, who reportedly acts as coordinator between Tehran and its embassies, has a reputation as an indefatigable traveler whose trips between European capitals and the capitals of progressive Moslem countries are beyond counting.

The religious line of attack, on the other hand, is reportedly under the authority of Fadel Marandi, regarded as the regime's top theologian. Marandi reportedly makes very special efforts to establish Shiite mosques like those already existing in Paris, Nantes, Grenoble, Montpellier, Caen, and Nancy. As soon as each mosque is inaugurated, it becomes a propaganda center that is all the more effective in that it enjoys almost unlimited immunity. In this connection, one fact as odd as it is significant has been noted: most of the men who were behind the establishment of those mosques have since become "diplomats" assigned to embassies, even though they lack the appropriate training. One example is Hosein Zamani, earlier a student of architecture in Nancy--where he had established an Islamic movement--who has now become charge d'affaires at the Iranian Embassy in Paris.

The third department, whose leader is said to be Colonel Fassihi--who was one of the leaders of SAVAK under the shah before going to work for SAVAMA (the political police)--can be regarded as the group providing the "muscle." Its objective is to recruit and train thugs, organized into "brigades," who are always ready to intervene physically if necessary.

While the number of propaganda agents and officials regularly used by the Khomeyni regime in France is not known, most of the "associations" that provide their cover and can justify, if necessary, the constant holding of meetings are known--even though none of them has registered. The Association of Islamic Students in France--not to be confused with the Islamic Association of Iranian Students in France!--the Association of Iranian Moslem Students in France, the Association of Islamic Students in Paris, and so on are just so many apparently separate organizations which, in fact, all boil down to one, with the same leaders and usually the same audiences being found in all of them.

The Iranian state has sole ownership of a certain number of buildings scattered around just about everywhere in Paris: on Suffren Avenue (Seventh Arrondissement), Madrid Avenue (Eighth Arrondissement), Raymond-Poincare Avenue (16th Arrondissement), Pereire Boulevard (17th Arrondissement) and rue Brancion (15th Arrondissement). Those are all places where meetings and "lectures" can be held away from excessively curious eyes and inquisitive ears.

Apologizing for not being able to provide more than "an order of magnitude," the Iranian Embassy estimates at "about 12,000" the number of Iranian nationals residing in France as students. But while all those young people enroll in our educational institutions as lawfully as can be--a sine qua non condition

for obtaining a resident permit in proper form--it goes without saying that very few of them attend classes. However that may be, the number of Iranian resident students registered on the books of the university residence halls in Paris as of 1 December 1983 totaled only 13, and 5 of those were registered as "trainees"!

Intellectual Terrorism

And French universities, for their part, have only 5,611 regularly enrolled Iranian students (for the 1982-1983 school year).^{*} That figure puts Iran in third place as regards the total number of foreign students attending our universities--behind Morocco (22,000) and Algeria (10,000). But the figures in question refer only to the total number of students by nationality and obviously do not take political cleavages into account. Supporters and opponents are both included without anyone's being able to distinguish between them.

All the same, the university residence halls remain the favorite spot for fundamentalist Islam's "traveling salesmen." Every Thursday and Saturday, the "Islamists" gather there. After decorating the spot with portraits of their innumerable political idols and sticking up tracts and banners, they sell their newspapers and distribute their tracts to the accompaniment of a great many exhortations directed at Arab, Berber, African, or other Moslems (there are beginning to be reports of conversions in West Indian circles) who come there simply as onlookers or as listeners who are already convinced.

The "full-time" propaganda agents, whose number is not known but who probably total between 50 and 100 in Paris and its region, receive a more than comfortable wage: it is estimated that they are paid 10,000 francs per month. Well-informed sources say that before being assigned to a particular country, those officials receive advanced training in two specialized schools, one in the vicinity of Tehran and the other in Qom, Iran's holy city. Their instructors are said to be mostly Iranians and Palestinians.

If we are to believe people who have had dealings with them, those professional propagandists are generally as active as they are persuasive, especially in the immigrant Moslem communities. Using simple language cleverly adapted to an audience that generally has little education, those bearers of the good word know how to convince their listeners. They find it all the easier since they are addressing individuals who are psychologically ready to subscribe to promises of a better life both spiritually and materially.

In addition to their talk, the fundamentalist agents have sizable material means at their disposal, especially in the form of publications in all languages. Books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, tracts and cassettes are distributed without number.

* Humanities: 2,103; sciences: 2,082; medicine: 485; economics: 424; law: 357; pharmacy: 76; interdisciplinary fields: 38; University Institute of Technology: 28; and dentistry: 18.

It was only a step from the all-points exportation of the Iranian revolution through religious brainwashing to Jihad and from Jihad to murderous terrorism. We now know that that step has been taken and that intellectual terrorism can lead to the other kind--the kind that kills blindly.

11798

CSO: 3519/207

COMMUNIST TIES OF KLAUS BARBIE LAWYER Jacques Verges

Paris EST & OUEST in French Jan 84 pp 26-29

[Article by Herve Le Goff]

[Text] For one who, during World War II, was a member of the Resistance to want to defend another who was chief of the German police in Lyon at the time cannot be termed commonplace. This, however, is not the sole contradiction worthy of note in the fact that Jacques Verges became Klaus Barbie's lawyer almost immediately following the latter's incarceration in France. Will Verges, an "anti-American-imperialism" firebrand, not be defending a man who claims to have been a collaborator with the U. S. intelligence services during the postwar period and thereafter?

The fact is that, from the very start of his career as a political lawyer, Jacques Verges has dealt in enigmas: A communist militant since his adolescence, in 1956 he distanced himself from the PCF [French Communist Party], which he considered too lukewarm in its commitment to what was then the Algerian rebellion. But a few years later, he was given the responsibility of putting together a team of lawyers to defend the communist militants who were being prosecuted for their participation in the rebellion. Does the PCF customarily entrust such a responsibility to a heretic?

After Algeria's independence, Verges became a convert to Islam and added to his name that of Mansour. Was it a sincere conversion? Or was it a convenient way for this atheist, who was already married in France, to become legally a bigamist and marry his former client, the militant of the Algerian Communist Party, Djamila Bouhired?

In September 1963, he founded the magazine REVOLUTION in Paris, introducing it as being closer to Beijing than to Moscow, for which shortly thereafter he was characterized as being a "renegade from the PCF" by L'HUMANITE (25 September 1963). But the magazine's editorial board included Mohammed Babu, secretary general of the Communist Party of Zanzibar, the founding of which had been announced a year earlier by PRAVDA (19 July 1962--which constituted official recognition by the USSR. Was the magazine REVOLUTION truly closer to Beijing than to Moscow?

Any attempt to make heads or tails of these apparent contradictions, conversions and repudiations, and especially any effort to understand why he is defending Klaus Barbie today (and how!) must start with the biography of Jacques Verges, going back to his earliest beginnings.¹

Jacques Verges is 58. He was born of a Creole father, Dr Raymond Verges (who was a member of the PCF and who was elected a deputy representing Reunion in 1946), and a Vietnamese mother. He is the twin brother of Paul Verges, secretary general of the Reunion Communist Party.

In Paris, where he had come to study law, Jacques Verges, an active member of the PCF, exhibited from the outset a lively militant activism, oriented principally toward student circles overseas. In 1948, he became president of the Association of Reunion Students in Paris. He installed in their hotel on Rue St-Sulpice a Liaison Committee for Associations of Colonial Students, which very soon was publishing a periodical ETUDIANTS ANTICOLONIALISTES.

These creations were anything but spontaneous. They were directly inspired and aided by the very communist UIE [International Union of Students], whose head office was in Prague and of whose Executive Committee Jacques Verges became a member.

From that point onward, he has continued to exercise an international role: He attended a meeting of the UIE Executive Committee held in Berlin 13-19 January 1951 and took advantage of it to visit East Germany together with other communist militants. In February he made contact in London with the colonial students of the West Africa Students Union.

Quickly, Prague, rather than Paris, became Verges's home port. He became a permanent representative of the UIE, in which he played the role of traveling emissary even to his own country: In 1951, he also represented the communist organization at the national congress of the UNEF [National Union of French Students]. His brainchild, to enlarge to world-scale the agitation of colonial students, was the FMEU [International Student Relief Organization]. Its "relief" was directed exclusively toward the colonial countries, with the aim of influencing the students of those countries. It was small in scope but highly selective, consisting quite often of mimeograph-type equipment. The organization itself was, to be sure, the counterpart, in the student world, of the Popular Relief, formerly the Red Relief, Organization

The Steering Committee for the founding of the FMEU had been elected during the second congress of the UIE (Prague, August 1950). The organization was officially founded on 22 and 23 October of the same year in Prague. From the very beginning, Jacques Verges was secretary of the FMEU Working Committee. In reality, he was its head, after having been its inventor. From 1950

1. We make use here of two studies published in the former EST & OUEST: "How the PCF Trains its Militants: The Case of Jacques Verges," No. 159, 1-15 Oct 1956; and "Evolution of a Pro-Chinese French Communist: The Case of Jacques Verges," No. 307, 16-31 Oct 1963.

to 1954 he dedicated his entire effort to it. And even thereafter, in the summer of 1955, he went to Helsinki to represent both the FMEU and the UIE at the Communist Conference on Western Relief held there between 20 and 30 July of that year.

In explaining his conception of militant activism at that time to the UIE Executive Committee meeting in Budapest in March 1952, Jacques Verges used these words: "The colonial students expect great things to come of the film libraries offered by the Secretariat of the UIE; thus, they will be able to send to their comrades in other countries the films that depict the atrocious poverty of our countries (films on Tunisia, for example, or Ivory Coast) and receive in return films that depict, for example... the carefree life of the Chinese students, the happy dedication of the students of Ouzbekistan who, together with their Soviet brothers, are today forging a glorious future..."

During that period, other activist opportunities beckoned to his military ardor and in the fall of 1954 an important turning point occurred in his career: He returned to Paris and enrolled in the School of Oriental Languages. He already had a law degree and his license to practice; he now learned Hindi, India's principal language. There were, in Reunion and Madagascar, to say nothing of Mauritius and the east coast of Africa, large Hindu minorities that often played a determinative role in the local life of those places. A lawyer able to speak their language and having Verges's intellectual capacity, political training and oratorical talent could do some effective work among them that can easily be imagined...

Quite naturally, Verges resumed his service ties with the PCF: In August 1956 he defended the "ten patriots of Vendome"--communist militants who were being prosecuted for having demonstrated and instigated the desertion that took place among a trainload of soldiers who had been called up for Algeria. Verges succeeded in getting the militants freed.

The prolongation of the Algerian war produced still another turning point in Jacques Verges's activities. The PCF, having received the order from Moscow to support Guy Mollet's government, complied with it, of course, even when the government sent the contingent to Algeria. The communist deputies in Parliament voted without hesitation in support of the military credits being requested for the purpose, the calling up of the Reserves, and the "special powers" for Robert Lacoste; The PCF leadership distanced itself from the terrorist actions of the FLN [Algerian National Liberation Front] hit squads on French soil; and the CGT [General Confederation of Labor] put a damper on social agitation... In Moscow's view, the time was ripe for a worldwide alliance with socialists everywhere.

Large numbers of young French communist militants, particularly among the intellectuals, distanced themselves from the party at that point. Jacques Verges joined this movement all the more willingly for having been so deeply involved in revolutionary agitation among the colonized. Immediately following the trial of Djamila Bouhired (who was a member of the Algerian Communist Party, was condemned to death by an Algerian tribunal, on 15 July 1957, for terrorist acts, then freed), he rallied the FLN.

At that point, what was his relationship with the PCF? Had he broken with it? Had there not been a mere shift from one apparatus to the other? While sidestepping the discipline of the PCF, had Verges not remained a member of the international communist apparatus, to which he had undeniably belonged since his sojourn in Prague? This would explain the calm surrounding the shift: While apparently detaching himself from the PCF, Verges continued working for the international communist movement; and the French communist leaders, for whom this shift from one apparatus to the other was neither a new nor an infrequent occurrence, could not be umbraged by it.

The end of the Algerian war marked for Jacques Verges the beginning of a new stage. Refuged in Morocco, where he became legal adviser to Foreign Minister Khatib, he handled principally Algerian and African affairs. In October 1962, he returned to Algiers at the height of the confrontation between the PCA [Algerian Communist Party] and the FLN, which, despite his efforts, ended with the outlawing of the first of these.

During this period, which saw his "conversion" to Islam and his marriage to Djamila Bouhired, he was first on special assignment to the Willaya IV [4th Governorate], then rallied the "Tlemcen group" and joined the staff of Foreign Minister Khemisti, who was assassinated a few months later.

It was during this period also that he founded (in January 1963) the weekly REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in Algiers, in which he supported the most leftist elements of the FLN, particularly Rabah Bitat. The latter's wife, Zorah Drif, deputy from Tiaret, was also the weekly's editor-in-chief.

Concurrently, Jacques Verges, a member of the Algiers Bar, defended the first Palestinian fedayeen arrested in Israel...

The disaccord deepened between the PCA, which sought to recover a legal existence, and the FLN, which had opted for a one-party system. The latter having been the victor, Jacques Verges could no longer remain at the head of REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the management of which he relinquished to Mohamed Harbi in June 1963. Zorah Drif's name disappeared from the weekly at the same time as his own.

Once again, it was to Paris that Verges returned, and in September of that same year he began publishing a new magazine, REVOLUTION, there. Its leaning was Maoist, which earned him the epithet of "renegade" hurled by L'HUMANITE. In reality, Verges's attitude remained, as always, ambiguous.

Introducing REVOLUTION to the readers of FRANCE-OBSERVATEUR (5 September 1963) 1963), he wrote:

"REVOLUTION will not be supportive of those who... are seeking to carry out the operation of sweetening Marxism. Nor will REVOLUTION support those who invoke the new conditions of our era to preach polycentrism. Here as elsewhere, the universal way of October, the conquest of political power by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the institution of proletarian democracy retain all their validity."

Do not these words correspond with those that were in use at the time by spokesmen for the Kremlin?

The presence of Mohamed Babu, already noted herein, on the editorial board of REVOLUTION is sufficient to banish all doubt.

Jacques Verges pursued his militant activities in Paris until 1970. He published REVOLUTION and defended the Palestinians and the leftist militants of the opposition in the ex-colonial countries. Then suddenly, that same year, he disappeared from the scene following a trip to Alicante. Even those closest to him appeared to have lost track of him and were concerned as to what might have happened to him. There were hints of a new Ben Barka affair and there was speculation as to the probable authors of his "kidnapping"...

Did he finally let his whereabouts be known to someone? In any case, his family's concern and that of his friends ceased making its presence felt... even though it was not until 1978 that he reappeared. During those 8 years, did he reside in the USSR, in Vietnam, in Cambodia? Was he involved in activities demanding secrecy? What is known is that he remained silent regarding those 8 years and returned to Paris, as if he had simply interrupted his work just the day before, as a political lawyer.

Subsequently, he defended the lawyer of the Red Army Faction, Klaus Croissant, whose extradition had been requested of the Paris government by that of Bonn; Mohamed Hamani, member of or closely connected with Direct Action; and Magdalena Kopp and Bruno Breguet, "friends" of the terrorist Carlos. And he used, as he did when he was defending the militants of the FLN, a so-called strategy of "disruption": Start by sensitizing public opinion to the cause of his client, to influence it in his favor; Transform the accused into the accuser of the political structures in place²; claim and claim repeatedly that what is being prepared is a parody of justice, that the trial about to open has as its sole object the covering up of what needs to be opened but dares not be opened.

This is precisely the method the communists have always advocated. In defending Klaus Barbie (as also when he argues the case of Robert Boulin's assassination), Jacques Verges will obviously adopt the selfsame strategy of the offensive:

--In the Boulin case, try to show that French society, especially within its policy-making class, is more corrupt than public opinion actually imagines, and that there is virtually general connivance to cover up the "extraneous incidents" resulting from this corruption;

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2. In "Pour en finir avec Ponce Pilate" [An End to Pontius Pilate] (publ. Le Pre-aux-Clercs, Paris 1983), he writes: "The accused must seek, when the circumstances permit, to reverse roles. He must become the accuser and master of the issues involved. He must open a second front on terrain of his own choosing."

--In the Barbie case, insist on the fact that the crimes of which the Third Reich and its officials are generally accused are not their preserve, that the bourgeois democracies, the colonialist states, the United States, Israel, etc (but not the USSR!) have all committed similar crimes and must all be nailed to the cross at the same time. "every day," he explains, "I receive letters and appeals from our brothers in the Arabic countries and in Black Africa supporting me and telling me... that they are fed up with these diversionary trials, with hearing it claimed that only Hitler committed crimes against humanity..."

Undoubtedly also, Jacques Verges and those who inspire him will seek to cast doubt, suspicion and dishonor on the noncommunist resistance.

A question has been raised recently, from a purely historical viewpoint, regarding Jean Moulin's character. Specifically, his role as a member of the entourage of Pierre Cot, after the latter had become, after a fashion, the appointed defender of the Soviet Union in France, had raised a question (and continues to do so) as to whether Moulin had not had, in one way or another, close ties with the communists who were operating in France at the time or outside France. This was the question raised by Henri Fresnay in "L'enigme Jean Moulin" [The Jean Moulin Enigma] (Robert Laffont publ., Paris 1977).

For men without scruples, accustomed to ascribing "dialectically" to their adversaries the methods they themselves use, was it not tempting to them to insinuate (and Verges went far beyond this) that, since the noncommunist members of the Resistance distrusted Jean Moulin, they had delivered him to the German police to rid themselves of him? There remains to be proven that they distrusted him at that time. And furthermore, that they were morally capable of a sellout of this nature--which, be it said in passing, smacks much more of a Stalin mentality...

After all, if one is to engage in this kind of thinking, one could very well postulate that Jean Moulin had come round fully to General De Gaulle's position, that is, a purely national Resistance, and that the communists could not accept a "betrayal" that risked their losing control of resistance movements, a control they were counting on using after the war to advance their own plans...

This is a measure of the validity of Verges's accusations: Using the same method, one could construct other hypotheses in the opposite sense. Klaus Barbie's lawyer has indeed used it to this effect, an effect that furthers communist interests: "You say that the communists did not join the Resistance until the Soviet Union was attacked, and then only to defend the 'homeland of socialism.' We, however, say that it was the Gaullists and other noncommunist members of the Resistance who put their ideological prejudices and their 'class interests' before the interests of the nation, going so far as to deliver to the enemy the communist members of the Resistance or their close associates."

Is this truly the goal Verges has wanted to achieve? No one can say with any degree of certainty; the only certainty at which one can arrive, on due analysis, is that, at the very least, a "Verges enigma" exists. In any case, he appears to have remained faithful to the struggles of his youth and always a member of the international communist movement, after having been trained to this end in his family, in the PCF and in Prague--the Verges of whom EST & OUEST of 1-15 October 1956 wrote premonitorily:

"The Communist Party improvises nothing--neither its members nor its orders of the day. Eight or 10 years ago, Jacques Verges was taken in hand by the Communist Party, while he was still a student barely of age. He was given instruction in Prague and possibly elsewhere. Clearly, he is being prepared today for other missions, which he will not be able to accomplish for many years yet. The Party is farsighted and devotes as much attention to action in the future as to action at present."

[Boxed insert follows]:

On the 'Crimes' Attributed to Stalin

"To justify violence, one need only analyze for whom, by whom and against whom it is perpetrated (...)

"The denunciation of Stalin's 'crimes,' moreover, is not entirely free of willful misrepresentation. It neglects to analyze the sociopolitical conditions of the trials. It is in the name of a disembodied socialist legality, that is, that of common law, that the posthumous criticisms of the dictator pretend to 'judge' both the liquidation of the kulaks and the errors of the Moscow trials.

"The effect of these unreasoned indignancies is to heap entirely on Stalin's 'person' the weight of the faults committed by the Soviet bureaucracy, to commiserate indiscriminately class enemies and militants who were unjustly dealt with, and to rehabilitate the former in the name of the pity justly due the memory of the latter.

"(...) The vulgar indignation of Mr Krushchev's secret report on the 'crimes' attributed to Stalin contribute less to critical thought than would the simple objective publication of the court sentences and of their mode of execution."

[By] Jacques M. Verges [in] "De la strategie judiciaire" [On Judicial Strategy] (Preface by Amar Bentoussi, president of the National Order of Barristers of Algeria); Paris, Les editions de Minuit, 1968, pp 203-206.

Thus, Mr Verges does not consider the "genocide" of which millions of Russian peasants were the victims a crime. Their sacrifice was justified: It was necessary for the greater glory of communism.

BRIEFS

POSSIBLE ETA INTERNAL SUBVERSION--A plan of subversion and the possible arrival of ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] commandos in Portugal were reported by Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares yesterday. Soares said that there is a vast plan of subversion aimed at Portugal that would take advantage of the social unrest caused by economic problems in order to destabilize the country's democracy. In addition, the prime minister warned that Portugal should be prepared for the possible arrival in the country of commandos from the Basque separatist group ETA, according to news from the EFE. "It has been reported that Basque terrorists have in the past used Portugal as a place of rest or escape, but there is now a danger that, driven from their previous refuge France, the organization has chosen Portugal as an alternative," he said. The Portuguese prime minister made the statements at the close of a farewell luncheon for Spanish television correspondent Diego Carcedo, which was attended by Spanish Ambassador Ramon Fernandez Soignie and directors of Portuguese communications media. Soares referred to issues handled at the Council of Ministers meeting he had just presided over at his official residence, one that placed special emphasis on the topic of subversion, terrorism and violence. Soares said that there are "professional agitators" ready to take advantage of the social discontent he admitted exists in the country, for which reason it is necessary to strengthen authority. "We are the most democratic of the world's poorer countries and we are ready to defend our regime against any subversive maneuver dictated by dubious totalitarian motives," he said. [Text] [Madrid YA in Spanish 10 Feb 84 p 3] 11,464

CSO: 3548/192

OZYORUK TURNS CRITICAL EYE ON PARIS ARMENIAN TRIAL

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 31 Jan 84 p 5

[Text] Upon seeing the progress of the trial of the four Armenian terrorists in the Paris Criminal Court, the face of the gentleman by the name of (Casimajou) who was French Ambassador in Ankara at the time of the raid on the consulate general, came to life before my eyes and his voice echoed in my ears. The Ambassador appearing on the TRT [Turkish Radio and TV Administration] screen said: "La justice Francaise fera son devoir" (French justice will do its duty).

We shall see. Will "French justice" do its duty? And how? Because there is a certain direction that it is in fact, a perversion, a comedy, a "buffoonery" as indicated uniformly by the news received from various sources.

What sort of trial is this? What is the "fact" or "facts which the court is obliged to prove" in its "Final inquiry" phase? What is to be done after the proof except to clarify which articles of the French criminal code have been broken by the act (acts) attributed to the accused and following this to enforce the sanctions ("punishments" as regards the nature of these acts) proposed by the same law for the violation of those articles.

Where were these four terrorists caught? Why had they come to the Consulate General of Turkey? They were armed. Why had they brought those weapons along with them? What did they do in the consulate general? Did they kill people? Did they wound anybody? Did they occupy by force an official office of a foreign country (of Turkey)? Does the duty of the court not consist solely in finding definite answers to these questions? What is this "buffoonery" which is going on, then?

In any case, if you ask judge Floch, he will say he has turned the final investigation towards such a course "in order to clarify the aims" of those four ASALA assassins whom he has forbidden to be called "terrorists". To what else can the perpetrators' being armed be attributed but to the purpose of "using" those weapons while raiding the consulate general? Are they "armed personnel of the French state" for example, like policemen?

The judge is looking for a "mitigating circumstance". The assassins and their witnesses who were not present in the place where the event occurred are talking about an "Armenian genocide" which they claim happened in 1915.

Even if such a "genocide" could be proved, are the personnel in the consulate general or today's Turkish administrators the perpetrators of it? And even if it were so, is it a right recognized by law in any country to attempt to punish personally "those responsible for the genocide"?

Furthermore, how, in what way and by what means "can it be proven" that these terrorists acted "with the motive of taking revenge" for such a genocide which "happened" before their own and perhaps even before their fathers' birth? Who knows what such a motive is? And "even if" this is so, do the laws of the state of France allow attempts at "armed revenge activities" against a foreign country (against Turkey)? Could the French territory be used legally as a base for this kind of hostile activities? Are these the points the court is trying to prove?

Without a doubt, in the hands of the French state is "the power to undertake measures: against such a court and judge. If these measures which surely must exist are not used and the resulting judgement like the present "trial" ends up as a buffoonery, France certainly will suffer the consequences.

We too shall never forget the "judgment" against us of the French law and judicial system.

12591

CSO: 3554/141

PAPER COMMENTS ON MIDDLE PARTIES COOPERATION EFFORTS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Jan 84 p 2

[Editorial by Jan-Magnus Jansson: "Sharper Profile for Middle Parties"]

[Text] Both the need to present a sharper profile and the need to demonstrate a unity that has not always seemed that apparent lie behind the moves of the three middle parties on a number of concrete government matters, according to Jan-Magnus Jansson. The declaration can be greeted with satisfaction as far as that goes, even though success on individual issues is not certain.

In the joint move made by the Center Party, the Rural Party and the Swedish People's Party on Wednesday, it was noted that together the three parties form the government minority. The reminder may be useful, since the "main bearing" government party, the Social Democratic Party, in general deliberately appears so dominant that many people probably forget that the government does have a nonsocialist majority.

To be fair it should be said that Sorsa has not sought confrontation with his nonsocialist colleagues and that he has refrained from dramatizing the matters taken up by the government. This in turn may have led to the nonsocialist government parties--although not necessarily their various representatives in the government--receiving little publicity. Concern over the fact that his party was standing in shadow led Center Party secretary Sepp Kaariainen to call for a higher profile as far back as November.

The actions of the middle parties originally sprang from this need to present a clear profile. Vayrynen, who is approaching a time when he hardly needs to fear defeat but will still find difficult in many ways has occasion to sharpen Center policy in the government as well. But there must have been other motives behind the move.

One of these is the desire to bind the Rural Party to the middle group in a more visible way. After all Sorsa was responsible for the FLP [Finnish Rural Party] government involvement and the party has guarded itself

against challenging the Social Democrats openly. By entering into an action that annoys the Social Democrats, Pekka Vennamo has definitely shown his colors.

We must recall that the Rural Party has no part in the formal middle co-operation which now includes only the Center Party and the Swedish People's Party. When the government was formed, the Rural Party announced that it "counted itself as part of the political center" and that statement has not been refuted since then. SFP [Swedish People's Party] in particular has opposed the affiliation of the Rural Party with the middle cooperation and the party itself has also been somewhat dubious. That is precisely why other visible ways of demonstrating cooperation are needed.

There are a good many old grudges between SFP and FLP that need to be cleared away. There have been clashes between the parties in the government and outside it SFP has been the government party that most consistently criticized the inclusion of FLP in the government. Add to that Veikko Vennamo's embarrassing attacks on Finland's Swedish population which are getting worse and worse and are beginning to resemble old newspaper clippings from the 1930's.

Personally we do not feel that an intensified conflict between two non-socialist government parties serves any purpose. When it comes to Pekka and Veikko Vennamo, SFP will do well to pay more attention to the son than to the father. Pekka is probably saddled with the problem of what the honorary chairman of his party has to say, but perhaps it is unreasonable to expect him to take his father to task.

Finally, the action must also be intended to take any remaining wind out of the Conservative Party's sails. We view the action of the three non-socialist parties as a good sign as far as it goes, although it is far from certain that it will lead to success on individual issues. The mood around the country does not guarantee popularity for those who threaten to topple the government and Vayrynen has also said flatly that they have no intention of plotting to undermine the cooperation with the Social Democrats. The dragging out of such things as family policy issues in the government has made its work extremely sluggish.

If one looks at the concrete issues, it is not too surprising to find that the question of support for caring for children at home has been placed first. The line the Center Party has backed publicly all along, namely that all families where at least one parent has stayed home to take care of a child or children should receive the same amount of support without having to show financial need, has now been embraced by all three parties.

The parties probably did not have much trouble finding a joint line to take on the question of ways to meet energy needs. They say among other things that they are not ready to decide whether the construction of a new big power plant in preference to other possibilities of meeting energy needs has been effectively utilized. They also called for legislation that

would leave the decision of starting up nuclear power plants to parliament. From the point of view of logic and timing, the last issue should have been the first.

On economic issues, they called for concrete measures on business taxation, a so-called start sum for unemployed people who want to go into business for themselves, relief for the rental situation by making rentals profitable and reform of unemployment protection. In some cases, there is no doubt a genuine agreement, on others there are signs of compromise among the three parties.

The document also reflects the wish of the middle group to keep a tight rein on the Environmental Ministry, which is regarded as socialist-run. With regard to the so-called intermediary authorities they said that district autonomy should be based on the present municipal leagues. This is a statement that calls for a good deal of clarifying explanations, but at any rate it means that they want to start from the beginning on this truly eternal question.

The demand for an income guarantee for professional fishermen obviously had an SFP background. On this deserving question a committee presented a proposal which has some entirely new parts, but so far it has not been possible to discuss it thoroughly.

As expected, the Social Democratic response to the middle initiative was sullen. The prime minister, who is looking after the president's office, pointed out that the new points would require an adjustment of the government's program. The Social Democratic executive board made special note of the fact that the middle made its demands at the very time when income negotiations call for a unified government.

As far as that goes, neither comment needs to be taken very seriously. The income negotiations follow their own deep tracks and if any items in the middle declaration are regarded as deviating from or adding to the government's program, it should be possible to clear things up through political negotiations if there is a genuine desire to do so. Declarations have been made in the past by various government parties without being regarded as a breach of existing government agreements. But it will be interesting to see if the Social Democrats feel the need to issue their own list of demands. In that case, the internal tension in the government could escalate gradually.

6578

CSO: 3650/120

NONSOCIALIST PARTIES WANT ELECTORAL REFORM TO INCREASE MAJORITY

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 28 Jan 84 p 6

[Article by Rolf Kluge]

[Text] No electoral system is entirely fair--and that applies to the Norwegian system too. From time to time the question of improving it comes up. This happens when the political balance of power is so even that only small changes would be needed to tip the election results to one side or the other. But there is also a latent demand for more fairness, especially among the smaller parties with voters spread over the entire country and little or no representation in the national assembly.

Today there are two courses that could be taken. Either they can change the constitution or they can amend the electoral system. A constitutional amendment would be based on introducing so-called equalization seats, distributed according to the number of votes a party receives on a nationwide basis. That should be an advantage for all the parties with the exception of the Labor Party, which is the largest one. It is not certain what the Conservatives would gain. But a constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority. This means that the Labor Party can block it on its own and that is what the party has done so far.

Against that background the three nonsocialist parties have now discussed a change in the electoral system. This could be accomplished by a simple majority vote in Storting and has a greater chance of passage. With a feeling of shared destiny as the next election approaches, the three coalition parties are proposing that election alliances be made possible again. That means that in election districts where this is considered advantageous, parties can have their votes counted together. In this way, they gain the advantages of big parties when the votes are added up and seats are distributed. The Sainte-Lagunes method of dividing the numbers--1.4, 3, 5, etc.--has been in use in Norway since 1953.

Bitter Conflict

Election alliances were used in Norway from 1930 to 1949. There was a bitter conflict over them between the nonsocialists on one hand and the

Labor Party on the other. When the Labor Party became strong enough, it got rid of the system. The story is still circulating about Odelsting president Olav Oksvik, who had to use his double vote in the evenly-matched contest.

There is no doubt that the system was introduced at one time to block the advance of the Labor Party. And it was not without political significance. During the 19 years the system was in use, the nonsocialist parties entered into 74 election alliances. This gave them a total gain of 24 seats, all taken from the Labor Party. Therefore it is not surprising that the Labor Party is raging against the reinstitution of election alliances.

In the nonsocialist parties the proposal is viewed primarily as a veiled threat. What they really want is a constitutional amendment that will make the election system more fair by introducing equalization seats. But as long as the Labor Party opposes this, the nonsocialists will try to find other ways.

Equalization Problems

The Labor Party's reply is that it might be more democratic to make the election system fairer. But it is necessary to give a certain "front-runner extra" to big and responsible parties in order to achieve political stability. An election system with equalization seats would be apt to encourage the formation of many small parties and thus create problems for the parliamentary form of government.

The political opponents are willing to partially concede this point to the Labor Party. But they find it unreasonable that the Labor Party, which profits so much from the distribution of seats, should be able to have a clear Storting majority with only 42-43 percent of the voters behind it.

Labor Party Gaining

For a long time the Labor Party was under 40 percent in the polls and the nonsocialists have had little to fear. But in the fall municipal elections and in a poll in November, the 40-percent mark came into view again and we cannot rule out the possibility that 42-43 percent may lie within reach in the next Storting election. The other parties would like to avoid this, since it would give the Labor Party a majority.

The Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party and the Center Party have already begun to act. The general secretaries of the three parties have formed a working group. It will start out by preparing a constitutional amendment. That will probably not take much work, since a constitutional amendment proposal has come up several times before. More work will be done on a proposal to review the election system. There is every reason to assume that a Storting majority can be assembled to support this and it is just a question of finding a good time to put it through.

After that we can expect lengthy discussions about which election districts will be the scene of party election alliances and which will be left alone. The parties that enter into an election alliance must divide the seats won according to the proportional method and it can be hard to achieve results that satisfy the participating parties. Experience has shown that only a third of election alliances produce gains.

The Norwegian election system also has a geographic defect. As the population has moved into the large centers and population growth has been considerably stronger in central sections than in the remote corners of the country, there are now far more votes behind each seat in eastern Norway, for example, than is the case in the north.

There is agreement that the outlying districts should have a certain amount of overrepresentation but there is always the question of how large this should be. In the 1960's Storting expanded from 150 to 155 seats and the more densely-populated areas were given more representatives. But even so there are now almost twice as many votes behind members from these regions than behind representatives of thinly-populated election districts. This has also had political consequences, for instance in distributing funds for roads and communications.

The political realities involved in introducing election alliances are not always clear-cut. A Labor Party strong enough to rule alone has a tendency to pursue a more moderate socialist policy than one dependent on the Socialist-Left Party or other extremist parties on the left wing. If the Labor Party gets its "front-runner extra" and does not need support from the left, the political consequences could be fortunate from a nonsocialist point of view. On the other hand the election alliance system could drive the Labor Party into the arms of the extreme left wing.

Nonsocialists Unified

But of course the intention of the nonsocialist initiative on election alliances is to make sure the Labor Party does not reach a decisive position, either alone or in combination with others. Therefore one can see even now the contours of an election campaign in which the nonsocialist parties act in a unified way and enter into a large number of election alliances.

Much against its will the Labor Party will feel pressured to enter into election alliances with the Socialist-Left Party and the Liberals. Sharper dividing lines in politics could arise. But there is no risk that party lines will be wiped out within the two camps. Norwegian parties are so full of unique standpoints of various kinds that not even an election system can get the better of them.

AVANTE INTERVIEWS FOREIGN DELEGATES ATTENDING 10TH PCP CONGRESS

Volodia Teitelboim

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 10

[Text of interview with Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Bureau of the Chilean Communist Party, by AVANTE during the 10th Portuguese Communist Party Congress, held in Porto from 15 to 18 December 1983]

[Text] "In 1983 there was an explosion of protest by the popular masses. A protest that was not limited to one demonstration a month. It was every day, by all the movements and in all the sectors. A symptom of the irreversible movement that must necessarily culminate in the overthrow of Pinochet.

"The first antifascist demonstration took place 2 weeks after the coup, at a time when murders were being committed on an average of 1,000 people a day." Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Bureau of the Chilean Communist Party, thus described the continuing nature of the antifascist struggle. "The struggle against the fascist dictatorship in Chile began on 11 September."

[Volodia] The huge demonstration that accompanied the funeral of Pablo Neruda came, in those critical days for the Chilean people, as a clear expression of resistance. It was the beginning of the overthrow of a dictatorship whose end is near.

Under the threat of arms, an apparently suicidal multitude sang the "Internationale," a symbol, like Neruda, of the determination of the people, of the communists, to struggle, even under the most difficult circumstances, and never to give in, even at the cost of life itself.

And so they have struggled, for more than 9 years, without a day of rest. It is those who have struggled since the institution of the dictatorship, those nameless ones who sowed the seed in the desert which is flowering now. Others, who did not sow the seed, are now seeking to reap the harvest.

We feel that those who are against fascism have every right to demand a part in the future post-fascist government, but they do not have the right to deny

credit to those who initiated and pursued the struggle in the darkest and most dreadful years, to the fathers of the current resistance.

Today this resistance is not limited to the 500 people who sang the "Internationale" at Neruda's funeral, surrounded by the police and the army. Now the resistance takes in millions. But the mobilization of these millions was possible only because 500 people, then and later, put their lives on the line.

[AVANTE] What is the position of the Chilean Communist Party in this broad and heterogeneous antifascist movement?

[Teitelboim] No one could rejoice more in the broadening of the opposition to fascism than we communists. Because throughout these harsh years we have worked by the hour for this goal. Because we also consider it a victory for us that not only the workers, the students, the peasants and intellectuals--who have always struggled--but also the middle classes and even the wealthy have joined in the battle against fascism.

Clearly, this broadening of the opposition to the dictatorship is not a simple or linear process. There are opposition sectors in which certain class conditions intervene, and also the hand of Washington always intrudes. There are those who declare they want a democratic regime, but--without communism. In short, in their eyes we are not truly democratic.

Some of those who, in their time, hailed the coup now take the role of someone who issues good conduct passes for democracy, trying to erase the past and exclude those who have never retreated from the struggle for the supreme values of freedom and human rights.

But we are for greater unity. What the Chilean worker--Communist or apartisan, Social Democrat or Christian--wants is for everyone to unite against Pinochet.

This feeling is also reflected in the leadership of parties which may not be particularly disposed to unity and which, in certain cases, are sensitive to pressures from the Pentagon and the White House.

The fact is that we have now progressed enough to hold a national day of struggle, which brought together a million people in Santiago, with all the opposition taking part.

Let us say that we have a united opposition--sometimes separated.

It is a case, specifically, of the Popular Democratic Movement, the popular opposition, which includes Communists, Socialists, the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and other forces of the Left, and the Democratic Alliance, in the Christian-Democratic sphere, taking in the Center, segments of the Right and some fringes of the Left (an alliance for whom the dictatorship is only a "dita-branda" [a "soft-spoken" dictatorship]).

But we do not consider the two fronts antithetical. Let us say these are sectors with differing interests and political opinions which are in fact opposed to fascism and in favor of democracy (although the conceptions may differ).

If agreement were reached between the two fronts, it would undoubtedly drastically shorten what remains of the life of the Pinochet regime, which nothing and no one can rescue, not even its North American patron.

[AVANTE] In summary, what is the situation now?

[Teitelboim] The year 1983 is the year of the explosion of the great popular mass protest. A protest that is not limited to 1 day a month. It is every day, at every moment, in all sectors. It is a sign of an irresistible movement that must necessarily culminate in the downfall of Pinochet.

But Pinochet is not through yet. It will require hard battles to overthrow fascism.

Why do I stress this?

Because today there are those who are basically concerned, not with the best way to unite to overthrow the dictatorship, but with the composition and nature of the future government. They are even saying that this or that party may participate in the future government, not not another....

We prefer to take things in order. First put an end to Pinochet and fascism. Then define the new society that must emerge in Chile, one based on the will of the people, one of democracy and national sovereignty.

We do not know when fascism will fall, but we know it will fall. Not by "intermediate solutions" or "gradual liberalization," but as the fruit of the most broad, united and organized struggle.

Hernan Estrada

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 10

[Text of comments by Hernan Estrada, chief of the European section of the International Relations Department of the Sandinist Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua (FSLN) to AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "There are specific plans to attempt something similar to the operation carried out against Grenada. In this regard, there is an attempt to prepare U.S. and European public opinion, using the old argument that we are a dictatorship, that we do not respect human rights, or that we are only a 'satellite' of Cuba or the Soviet Union."

The danger of direct military intervention is the greatest threat to the Sandinist revolution. It naturally also reflects the weakness of the counterrevolution and the popular support for the Nicaraguan revolutionary process. This was the basic idea expressed in our conversation with Hernan Estrada, chief of the European section of the International Relations Department of the FSLN.

"This is the situation. At the beginning of 1983, the Reagan administration launched an attack against our revolution from Honduras, using counterrevolutionary Somozist groups and even the Honduran army, to which may be added the military maneuvers, the military bases, the arms supplied by the United States and the systematic attacks on the population in the north of the country.

"The CIA's plan is to destabilize the revolution, to foment popular dissatisfaction and to test the 'response capability' of our army and of the Nicaraguan people.

"The attempt to create foci of tension in our country, through the introduction of Somozist groups in our national territory, failed. The popular reaction was not directed against the Sandinista government, but was one of intensified opposition to the counterrevolutionaries.

"So the CIA began to foment terrorist activity. In recent months there has been a succession of acts of sabotage against strategic economic targets, as in the case of the attack on the port of Corinte. But economic sabotage did not work either.

"At this time the imperialists virtually occupy Honduran territory, where they have placed 6,000 marines. They are counting on assistance from Guatemala and El Salvador. There are specific plans to attempt something like the operation carried out against Grenada. In this regard, there is an attempt to prepare U.S. and European public opinion, using the old argument that we are a dictatorship, that we do not respect human rights, or that we are only a 'satellite' of Cuba or the Soviet Union.

"But ~~our~~ revolution is very strong and we have many friends in the world."

Based on an analysis of the current situation, the government and the FSLN have opted for some measures of a political nature, both at the international level--specifically with respect to the Contadora Group, which includes Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela--and at the domestic level.

"On 15 November, a letter was sent to the Contadora Group, raising some questions of a military nature: above all, the need to initiate bilateral dialogue. Then arms reduction, also bilateral."

At the domestic level, a broad plan was elaborated, starting with amnesty for most of those who had fought against the Sandinista government and also calling for elections in 1985 and some measures guaranteeing the right to private property.

The objective is to rob the reactionaries and the imperialists of any arguments.

"Greater flexibility does not mean weakness," Hernan Estrada stressed. "This way, we will demonstrate our strength. We are not giving them the power.

"We are also prepared to defend ourselves with arms, if necessary. In a population of 2.7 million inhabitants, 1.1 million are armed and ready to defend the revolution.

"Nicaragua is not Grenada. All the people are united; our revolution is strong. In the event of direct military intervention, the imperialists will not win the war, no matter how long it may go on. Moreover, we would then be fighting a war without frontiers, and the imperialists would pay an extremely high price.

"We are ready for dialogue or for war. We have already put our cards on the table."

Aguinada Carranza

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[Text of interview with Aguinada Carranza, member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of El Salvador and of the United Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), by AVANTE during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "The 'case' of El Salvador is very important to imperialism, not for reasons of an economic nature (there is no significant natural wealth in our territory--there is no petroleum), but for strategic reasons, and because of the revolutionary example which our victory would represent...."

Prospects and victories in the struggle and denunciation of the systematic and multiform interference by North American imperialism were the central topics in our meeting with Comrade Mario Aguinada Carranza, member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of El Salvador and of the United Revolutionary Directorate of the FMLN. He also took up the question of Grenada, a current and particularly clear example of the aggressive nature of the policy adopted by Washington, and its total disrespect for the rules of international relations.

[Carranza] In January, our country will have spent 3 years in intense struggle. A basic characteristic of the struggle throughout this period was, we feel, the FMPL's improving capability--and possibility--of winning. We have gone from a situation of weakness, in the beginning, to a very different situation, in which the Salvadoran army is showing clear signs of falling apart.

Actually, at this time there is a real possibility of victory, unless there is a direct military intervention by the United States, as a last resort to prevent our victory and to preserve the dictatorship for a while longer.

In assessing these years of struggle, there is another constant; from the outset, we have had to face the United States, its interference in all forms--military, economic and diplomatic. Actually, the "case" of El Salvador is very important to imperialism, not for reasons of an economic nature (our territory has no great natural wealth --there is no petroleum), but for strategic reasons, and because of the revolutionary example that our victory would represent.

A third constant: the army of El Salvador has not accomplished the task assigned to it, despite great efforts, despite the superior weapons supplied in great quantity by the United States, despite the military training and the advisors supplied by Washington.

Thus--and despite a powerful "patron" like Washington--in 2 and 1/2 years of war we have managed to inflict 11,000 casualties on the army and to turn it into the major source of weapons for the FMLN.

More directly at the political level, we should note that the government, even with the direct intervention of the United States, has not been able to impose its pseudo-solution for the political crisis. On the contrary, it is more and more clearly recognized--both nationally and internationally--that the FMLN is an essential factor in the solution to the conflict in our country.

[AVANTE] How do the comrades view the events in Grenada as they relate to your struggle, to the process in progress in Latin America?

[Carranza] First of all, Grenada is an example of the aggressive nature of the U.S. foreign policy, which even resorts to gross intervention.

Grenada was also a dramatic lesson for all the revolutionaries, of how imperialism can use, and use to its advantage, any division among the revolutionary forces. To us, this means that we must pay even more attention to ways to handle the disagreements that arise, so they do not jeopardize the basic goals for which we are struggling.

Grenada also served to strengthen the call to the struggle against the aggressive interventionist policy of the United States. All revolutionaries, democrats and men of progress throughout the world must unite in the struggle, a struggle in which the progress of each people in its battle is also a gain for international solidarity.

Reginaldo Soto

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 11

[Text of interview with Reginaldo Soto, member of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Workers Party, by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "An 'April' will spread through the streets and countryside of Latin America, announcing the end of the military dictatorships. Our people are struggling for that April, for the right to real self-determination, final independence, for the right to freedom and democracy.

"The political history of our country deeply affects the struggle which is being waged now in Guatemala. I refer specifically to the popular victory in 1944, which began a revolutionary process which would be cut off by the CIA in 1954." This point was stressed, soon after our interview began, by Comrade Reginaldo Soto, member of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Workers Party.

[Soto] We are currently experiencing the most difficult phase of this process. Since 1963 we have endured daily crime, repression, the most varied illegalities by the military dictatorship, although it has not been able to stabilize its own government.

We should say that we are currently--and characteristically--in a phase of crisis of the military government, and also a crisis within the army, which has become the instrument of power.

Our country's geographic proximity to the United States (it should be remembered that the imperialists consider us their back porch, their fourth frontier) affects the policy of the military dictatorship, which is closely linked with Washington's strategic interests.

Thus we have a system of government based on imperialist interests, and hence an antipopular system which wages a really dirty war against the people.

This policy is noteworthy for its genocidal and even savage nature, aimed in some cases at the liquidation of whole masses of peasants and the destruction of villages and jungles (to prevent guerrilla activities). There is an intensification of the policy of terror and of psychological warfare, the use of more and more sophisticated means against the revolutionary movement.

This policy has led to a confrontation between the army, the military government and the most varied sectors of the opposition.

This means that the repression is reaching everyone: religious groups, women, Social Democrats, revolutionaries and communists; in short, all the honest citizens of our country.

This is the social base of support for the revolutionary struggle, although it takes various forms.

The issue, then, is to unify all these sectors in one battle, into a united army against the military regime.

[AVANTE] The current situation in Central America also has an effect on the struggle in your country, naturally.

[Soto] Undoubtedly. Above all, the victory of the people of Nicaragua, who have broken the chains of the military dictatorship, but also the struggle of all the other peoples in the region, particularly the Salvadorans. We believe that an April will spread through the streets and the countryside of Latin America, announcing an end to military dictatorship.

Our people are struggling for that April, for the right to real self-determination and total independence, the right to freedom and democracy. It is a struggle in which solidarity--particularly of the international communist movement, the socialist camp, the Soviet Union--plays a prominent role. Solidarity for its own sake, naturally, but also because this solidarity makes it easier to identify the common enemy: imperialism. Because if the people in struggle rely on the support we referred to, [their] governments have the support of countries like Israel, South Africa and, clearly, the United States.

[AVANTE] Generally, what is the status of the struggle now in Guatemala?

[Solo] The most important thing to us is the progress we have made in terms of understanding, trust and cohesion among all the revolutionary forces in the country, which were formerly scattered and undermined by disagreements. Today we are working together with the prospect of victory.

This unity has already borne fruit. The progress has been considerable. The guerrilla movement--which is developing and in which our party is playing a role--has defeated the attempts of the counterrevolutionary forces to liquidate it.

Eduardo Vieira

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 11

[Text of interview with Eduardo Vieira, member of the Political Bureau of the Uruguayan Communist Party, by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "We feel that the elimination of the dictatorship is an irreversible process, that the dictatorship cannot be consolidated. There is a new phenomenon throughout the region; the imperialist counteroffensive of the 1970's has been superceded.

"Uruguay is experiencing a new political moment.

The dictatorship is still there. It must be overthrown. But it is severely wounded and is retreating before the masses." This affirmation of a different reality in Uruguay, from Eduardo Vieira, member of the Political Bureau of the Uruguayan Communist Party, led to another basic question: How did Uruguay get to this point?

[Vieira] The current situation is the result of 10 years of popular resistance, resistance in which the communist played a prominent role, and also of the mass movement and the level of organization it had reached before the military coup, specifically the unification of the union movement, the common action of the workers and students. The democratic traditions themselves.

On the other hand, we have had a cumulative development of the crisis, a continuing deterioration of the economic situation, according to the Friedman model, which, along with the social movement of the masses, has been eroding the dictatorship.

In view of the situation, the military dictatorship attempted to legitimize itself by means of a plebescite.

It was roundly defeated. Nonetheless, the dictatorship persisted in its plans, namely with a law of parties and the scheduling of elections. These brought further defeat for the dictatorship, because of the blank ballots cast, on the advice of the Broad Front.

So the broad popular movement has been dealing a succession of blows to the military government. It has also been able to impose the negotiation of agreements between the government and the conciliatory sectors. Quite recently, such traditional parties as the Nacional and Colorado parties demanded the resignation of Gregorio Alvarez. For reporting this news, although it was done in a veiled way, the National Radio was shut down.

[AVANTE] What important moments can you point to in the mass struggle in recent times?

[Vieira] For example, there was the celebration of the first legal May Day, called by a general session of the union coordination, taking advantage of one of the few legal "loopholes," which, incidentally, are now being shut off. It was a great May Day, which was followed by other equally important events.

On 25 August, national independence day, the greatest mass mobilizations ever began. The 15-minute general strikes in September and October were observed, for example, by 80 percent of the workers in Montevideo.

On 27 November there was one of the most important political demonstrations in the history of Uruguay, which brought out about 400,000 people in Montevideo and many thousands in other cities. These demonstrations were very important, particularly for their profoundly unitarian nature, encompassing all the political parties.

In fact, the Left won its legitimacy in these demonstrations, which also pointed to a great radicalization of the masses, with slogans calling for the legalization of parties, amnesty for political prisoners and even solidarity with Nicaragua and Grenada.

These demonstrations included other expressions of popular unrest, with people beating on pots and pans.

It is clear that, despite the swelling of the mass movement and the unity of action which is now possible, it will not be easy to overthrow the dictatorship.

It is not simply a question of Uruguay alone. The Reagan policy undoubtedly is impeding the struggle of all the peoples in the zone. But open intervention by the United States could further intensify the existing problems and the repudiation of the dictatorships and imperialism.

To summarize, we think the elimination of dictatorship is an irreversible process, that dictatorship can no longer be consolidated. There is a new phenomenon throughout the region. The imperialist counteroffensive of the 1970's has been superceded; this is the general process in Latin America, particularly with the victory of Nicaragua and the struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries.

Abdul Samad

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Text of interview with Abdul Samad, member of the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee, by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "If Reagan is so concerned about the security of the U.S. forces in Lebanon, he should withdraw them. This is the best way of guaranteeing their security. We will not tolerate the presence of the U.S. forces on our land."

The extremely difficult situation today in Lebanon and in the Middle East as a whole; the reasons for the situation and the responsibility of the imperialists; the resistance and the struggle of the peoples in the zone, particularly the Lebanese people: these were --inevitably--the main topics of our meeting with Comrade Nandim Abdul Samad, member of the Political Bureau of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee.

[Samad] The revolutionary movement is witnessing an aggressive offensive by North American imperialism which, by its nature, has reached a level that has not been seen since World War II. This is reflected in the crazy escalation of the arms race, the rising international tension, the development of new missiles systems and also the presence of U.S. troops almost everywhere in the world.

Concurrently, imperialism is pursuing a policy directed against the peoples' independence and sovereignty, against their revolutionary conquests.

The violence of the imperialist offensive--embodied in the attacks and blockades against Central American and African countries--reached the heights in the Middle East and, above all, in our country.

In Lebanon we are facing a concentration of a powerful U.S. and NATO force--including aircraft carriers and hundreds of planes--a military presence clearly directed against our country, Syria and other Middle Eastern countries.

The threat of the U.S. military presence is joined with the aggressive policy of Israel, which, as you know, occupies part of our territory.

The current strategic accord between the United States and Israel makes Israel a real U.S. military base and makes the Israeli Armed Forces an American intervention force.

We think the explosive situation in our country and in the zone seriously threatens not only the vital interest of our people, the very existence of Lebanon as an independent and united state, but also the independence and sovereignty of other countries in the region and peace in the world.

[AVANTE] In view of the situation, what form is the Lebanese people's struggle taking?

[Samad] For 9 years, our people have been struggling against the fascist schemes abetted by North America and against the Israeli aggression, and they will not be intimidated by the show of force by the United States. They are more than ever determined to carry on the struggle, by any means, against the U.S. aggression, the Israeli occupiers and their Lebanese fascist puppets.

We see very clearly that the U.S. presence in our country--on the pretext of defending the peace in Lebanon--has deviated totally from the announced objectives and has, in practice, become a force of occupation and aggression.

Therefore our order of the day: The Americans must withdraw from Lebanon, along with their Atlantic allies.

If Reagan is concerned about the security of the U.S. forces in Lebanon, he should withdraw them. This is the best way of guaranteeing their security.

We will not tolerate the presence of the U.S. forces on our soil.

At the same time, and in the same context, our party and other patriotic forces constituting the National Resistance Front against the Israeli occupation are conducting an intensifying armed struggle against the occupation army.

We have had some success in this struggle. The Israeli occupiers have suffered many casualties and have even been forced to withdraw from part of our country, for their own protection.

This will not prevent the Lebanese fighters from pursuing the Israeli soldiers anywhere they are found on our soil. We will make their presence on our land very costly; we will make the occupation of Lebanon more and more expensive for Israel.

[AVANTE] The Lebanese people are not alone in this battle.

[Samad] No, they are not alone.

Our struggle has deep and close ties with the struggle of the Palestinian people. We are confronting the same enemies. We are both fighting for the right to national sovereignty, against a common aggressor. We are fighting a common battle with the Palestinians.

Moreover, we give great importance to the alliance with Syria, which is currently the major force of resistance against the imperialist-Zionist offensive in the region.

Our primary task in this phase is to achieve greater unity among all the progressive forces in the region, to coordinate our action and to overcome all the problems--which must be overcome--in our bilateral relations.

In this regard, we think our struggle against North American imperialism and NATO, against the Israeli aggressors, for our national liberation, is an integral part of the struggle conducted by the forces for peace, socialism and freedom throughout the world.

--In Western Europe, against the new U.S. nuclear missiles; in Central and South America, against Yankee imperialism.

We think it is essential at this time to unite all the revolutionary forces--principally the international communist movement, with the Soviet Union as its leader --to ward off the danger of a thermonuclear war, to inflict a defeat on the imperialist forces, above all, the United States.

Jamal Mousa

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Text of interview with Jamal Mousa, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel, by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "The war is eating up a very high percentage of the state budget, which means increasing pressure on the rate of inflation (at least 170 percent this year), price increases on the order of 50 to 70 percent, particularly affecting such major consumer products as bread, milk and foodstuffs in general." These are the consequences of the war, AVANTE learned from Comrade Jamal Mousa, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel.

[Mousa] The living standard is declining, not only because of the higher prices but also the deterioration of public services, such as health and education, caused by the cuts in funding.

All this has led to an explosion of the socioeconomic crisis. For example, last month there was a 2-hour general strike protesting the government's economic and social policy. The struggle is led, among many others, by our party and the United Labor Front.

Obviously, for the party, the issue is not simply the increase--necessary--in wages which the workers are demanding, a demand which we support.

Our struggle is for a change in the policy which is being pursued, the policy of war and occupation. To this end, we are promoting among the workers the idea that the only way to solve our domestic problems is through peace. Peace between Israel and Palestine. Recognition of the Palestinians' right to their own state, encompassing Gaza, the Trans-Jordan, and also their right to Arab Jerusalem. Peace that can only be achieved through discussion in which all the interested parties are included. An international conference--as proposed by Brezhnev--with Israel, the Arab states, the PLO, the United States and the Soviet Union.

[AVANTE] How is the peace movement in your country progressing now?

[Mousa] After Shamir's visit to the United States and the signing of the U.S.-Israeli strategic accord, the danger was intensified of an attack on Syria,

through Lebanon. This explains, for example, the bombing of Tripoli, in the north of Lebanon, far distant from Israel's borders.

It is against this danger that the peace movement is particularly directed at this time. The peace movement is active, it is growing, it includes Jews and Arabs, side by side, united in opposition to Israel's offensive against the Palestinians, against Lebanon and against the Arab states.

[AVANTE] At the domestic level, what aspects are noteworthy?

[Mousa] Racism. Racism which manifests itself in Israel in many ways.

--Above all, in the theft of Arab lands, which began with the constitution of the state of Israel itself.

Every year on 30 March, the "Day of the Land" is commemorated with large demonstrations in which, in addition to the communists, naturally, the peace movement and the democratic Jewish sectors participate.

Race discrimination manifests itself in all sectors of life. In the municipal budget (in which Arab municipalities receive smaller allocations). In the school subsidies (larger where Jewish children are affected). In wages. In the lack of jobs for Arab intellectuals.

To summarize, it is estimated that the standard of living of the Arab population is 70 percent below that of the Jewish population.

Abu Jafar

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 13

[Text of interview with Abu Jafar, director of the Political Department of the PLO by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] 'A new aspect of the situation in the Middle East--and the most important aspect--is the direct military intervention by the United States.' This is how Abu Jafar, director of the Political Department of the PLO, began his statement to AVANTE regarding the situation created for the Palestinian people and the people of the Middle East.

[Abu Jafar] For more than 30 years, Israel has served as a shock force for imperialism. It has done so in six successive wars during this time.

But it seems that Israel is no longer enough. It is no longer capable of performing its role. Why? Why is it that U.S. and other NATO country troops are now required in the zone?

In our opinion, the first reason is that the Soviet Union has declared that it will not allow Israel to continue on its path of aggression, namely, against the countries with which the Soviet Union has friendly relations.

It is no secret that the Soviet Union has been aiding some Arab countries, Syria for example, for 20 years.

However, last summer the United States supplied Israel with particularly sophisticated arms, even internationally prohibited weapons.

This meant a new supply of arms by the Soviet Union to Syria, to counter the new threat created by imperialism.

It was under these circumstances that the United States, together with Israel, decided on direct U.S. military intervention.

The second reason for this U.S. intervention is that the Reagan administration is pursuing the more reactionary policy adopted by imperialism in recent years. Its aim is to return the international situation to what it was in the 1950's.

A third reason is the very seriousness of the situation created in the Middle East.

[AVANTE] So we cannot see this as a new imperialist policy for the Middle East....

[Abu Jafar] Obviously not. The United States initiated this policy in the 1970's, with Camp David. Which was possible because of the path adopted by Sadat, characterized by anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, repression of the Nasserites and other democrats, and the reversal of the economic changes that had been undertaken.

They also tried to pressure the PLO to accept this policy, through maneuvering and also by force. And then there was, for example, the big aggressive operation last year.

[AVANTE] What is the situation now?

[Abu Jafar] There are more than 40 U.S. warships and hundreds of planes stationed in the area--against the patriotic Lebanese forces, against Syria. What does the United States want? Without a shadow of a doubt, control of the Middle East. For strategic reasons, for economic reasons. We must never lose sight of the fact that petroleum is at stake here.

Unfortunately, they have won some victories. But I am certain that the patriotic forces--of Syria, Lebanon and other Arab countries--I am certain that the PLO (which is now in serious difficulty)--are prepared to resist the imperialist offensive, because this is now the biggest priority.

Amir Zarra

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 12 Jan 84 Supplement p 13

[Text of interview with Amir Zarra, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "We are convinced that the counterrevolutionary forces will finally be erased from the history of our country. There will be no regression in our history.

"At this time we have already carried out the basic tasks of the revolution, such as agrarian reform and the distribution of water."

Speaking with Comrade Said Amir Zarra, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, we got the true picture of a country that is slandered almost daily in the bourgeois press, which simply ignores the great projects in progress and publicizes the counterrevolutionary groups that are still attempting to destroy them, with the support (admitted) of imperialism and of such clearly antipopular regimes as that of Pakistan.

[Zarra] Before the revolution, our country was very backward. We were living under the oppression of feudal lords, and even pre-feudal forms of exploitation still existed.

The popular struggle against British imperialism opened the door to our independence, in 1919, but did not lead to the necessary economic independence. The reactionary forces, the feudal lords, replaced the British colonial government.

The result: no industrial development and a very low standard of living.

If we wish to refer to some specific aspects of the country's situation before the revolution, we need only mention that 90 percent of the land was in the hands of 4 percent of the population, 99 percent of the people were illiterate, and infant mortality stood at 150 per 10,000 [sic] of children under 5 years old.

It was in view of these circumstances, and bearing in mind the international situation, the workers' struggle throughout the world and the strengthening of the organization and action of the Afghan workers, that the People's Democratic Party launched the struggle for the rights of the Afghan people.

The determination of the people and the leadership of the PDPA made the victory of the national and democratic revolution possible, and also brought an end to imperialist oppression and the feudal and pre-feudal conditions under which the people had been vegetating.

[AVANTE] What is the situation now?

[Zarra] The new constitution provides for the democratization of the country and guarantees a higher living standard for the people and the development of the national economy.

There have already been some successes. Of the 240 projects planned, 64--including some of the bigger ones--have already been carried out.

Regarding the campaign against illiteracy, over a million people have been taught to read. The plan--drafted in the second phase of the revolution--calls for the elimination of illiteracy in the cities in 5 years and in the villages in 10 years.

The major tasks of the revolution--agrarian reform and water distribution--have already been accomplished. Hundreds of thousands of hectares of land have been distributed to the peasants.

About 2,500 dwellings have been built, along with new hospitals, health centers and other buildings for social purposes.

In addition to the new schools, all the schools destroyed by the counterrevolution have been rebuilt.

[AVANTE] Speaking of the counterrevolution....

[Zarra] Most of the feudal lords fled to Pakistan. They conduct the counter-revolution from there, assisted by the reactionary forces of various countries, namely Arab countries, and by the imperialists who supply them with weapons.

These counterrevolutionary groups come into the country to commit acts of sabotage. This ~~was~~ particularly true at the beginning of the second phase of the revolution.

They came in and destroyed schools, hospitals, bridges and mosques.

But most of the Afghan people, under the direction of the PDPA, are fighting against the counterrevolutionaries, preventing them from carrying on their destruction.

Day by day, particularly in the last few years, the number of attacks has declined, and many of those who came into our country under arms have joined the side of the Afghan people.

The imperialists' undeclared war against our people has not ended. But the role of the party and the people is growing, to the extent that the benefits of the revolution are being felt increasingly.

We are convinced that the counterrevolutionary forces will finally be erased from the history of our country. There will be no regression in our history.

Brian Bunting

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 19 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Text of interview with Brian Bunting, member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, by AVANTE, in Porto during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "The resistance of the oppressed people--not just the blacks, but a growing number of whites--is going forward on several fronts."

"The referendum indicated the confusion and uncertainty reigning in the white minority. The formation of the Front illustrates the broadest consensus against 'apartheid.'" Our interviewee is Comrade Brian Bunting, member of the South African Communist Party Central Committee and editor of the party newspaper, and this sentence, taken from our interview, is practically a summary of its content, the basic outline of what is happening in South Africa.

On one hand, in the referendum regarding the new constitution, the white minority very clearly revealed its divisions and problems. On the other hand, the formation of a United Democratic Front brought together all the popular sectors and organizations opposed to apartheid.

[AVANTE] The Pretoria regime is attempting to create an image of reform, of the liberalization of apartheid. What does this "liberalization" mean, in practice, for the black majority of South Africa?

[Bunting] The government declares that it is going to liberalize apartheid, but for the majority of the oppressed people, nothing is changed.

The new constitution calls for three chambers in the parliament: one for whites (up to now the only ones to sit in Parliament), another for Indians and a third for the coloreds.

In practice, the coloreds and the Indians will have no power whatever. Because the whites' chamber is larger than the other two put together. Because the laws will go through the whites' chamber without prior consultation. In short, the white majority is always guaranteed.

Meanwhile, there is no place in the constitution for the African population, over 70 percent of the population of the country. Incidentally, the official policy of the government is to deprive the African population of citizenship itself, pushing it off into Bantustans. In South Africa, in his own land, the African is simply an emigrant.

In short, the proclaimed reform is a joke.

But even this farce is an indication of some internal problems.

The constitution was submitted to a white referendum. The results: 50 percent of the white electorate voted yes, 25 percent no, and 25 percent abstained. In other words, the whites do not agree among themselves.

Initially, the regime had entertained the possibility of two more referenda--one with Indians and another with the coloreds. Considering the results of the white referendum, it rejected the idea. It is afraid of a "no" vote, which would scuttle the whole plan.

So now they are looking to "elections," because, with this formula, even if only 5 percent of the electorate votes, the "elected" can speak for all the people.

This has already happened in Soweto, where there now exists an advisory body which speaks for all, but which was voted in by only 7 percent of the electorate.

[AVANTE] What form is the struggle against the apartheid regime taking?

[Bunting] The resistance of the oppressed people--not just the blacks but a growing number of whites--is going forward on several fronts.

First, the military front.

For several decades, the resistance was peaceful, despite the violence practiced by the regime. To give an idea, the ANC [African National Congress] was founded in 1912. The South African Communist Party was founded in 1921. The armed struggle was initiated in December 1967 in response to the massacres and brutal repression of the African masses, particularly during the general strike protesting the formation of South Africa, a strike led by Nelson Mandela.

The Umkhonko We Sizwe (the Nation's Lance) was created then--known as the armed branch of the ANC--a combat organization formed by the ANC and the South African Communist Party, whose great leader, Mandela, has been in prison since 1962.

The organization expanded and grew stronger. It became more efficient, using guerrilla methods, and in December 1982 it destroyed a nuclear reactor in Cape Province. There has been a series of attacks against various military, economic and political targets.

[AVANTE] The other front--the labor front....

[Bunting] This is a case, above all, of the African workers.

Great progress has been made in this area. The number of unions and unionized workers is growing rapidly and, at the same time, they are being united, primarily through union federations. The movement is now taking shape as a single and unitarian federation.

This is happening despite the law excluding Africans from union activity and placing many legal restrictions on their organization. But the revolutionary movement, the mass struggle is imposing this development "de facto."

It is also noted that the union struggle is not, nor can it be, of an economic nature alone. Even more so because--in accordance with the apartheid policy--every African is pushed into a Bantustan according to his ethnic origin. This means there is a close tie between the union struggle and the struggle at the local level. The Government of South Africa and the puppet governments of the Bantustans work together. Naturally, we also coordinate our struggle at the various levels. Hence the union struggle is part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the South African people.

In the third place, we have the political struggle against apartheid, a struggle that has gained great momentum with the creation of the United Democratic Front, a very broad and unitarian organization.

Several months of organized action culminated in a huge rally in August, in the city of Cape Town, which was attended by about 15,000 people. They included our comrades, some of whom are well known for their intensive action against the apartheid regime, and members of other political organizations, specifically

of whites, who are becoming more and more aware that the apartheid policy could lead to the destruction of the country, which is bringing them more and more into the liberation movement.

In that rally--and this is important--the principles of the ANC Charter of Freedom were approved. That charter was adopted in the People's Congress in 1955.

Actually, the principles of the charter are generally accepted. Although not everyone affirms them, no one challenges them.

Thus, there is growing unity of all the anti-apartheid forces in support of the charter.

Obviously, there are and will be many problems, even because of the very size of the movement. But the alliance of the 1950's is consolidating and expanding. And this is a decisive factor.

Aaron Shihepo

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 19 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Text of interview with Aaron Shihepo, member of the Central Committee and assistant foreign relations secretary of the South West African people's Organization (SWAPO), by AVANTE, in Porto, during the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] "SWAPO has won some important victories in the armed struggle. We are conducting operations throughout the territory. The South African army's repressive action to annihilate us has failed completely."

"The Namibian people are firmly determined to struggle for their independence on all fronts," declared Comrade Aaron Shihepo, member of the SWAPO Central Committee and its assistant secretary for foreign relations, telling AVANTE of the victories that have been won in this battle.

[Shihepo] SWAPO has won some important victories in the armed struggle. We are conducting operations throughout the territory. The South African army's repressive action, aimed at annihilating us, has failed completely. Because of the armed struggle, the white colonialists have been leaving Namibian territory at a rate of 35,000 per year, according to Pretoria's own statistics.

We have also succeeded in paralyzing the economy, such that Namibian industry must now import its electric power from South Africa.

Moreover, and for the first time, South Africa has been forced to obtain credit from the IMF, with support from the United States.

In short, we are making the illegal occupation of Namibia less profitable. In other words, our goal is to make it more advantageous for South Africa to leave Namibia than to continue its occupation. Even Pretoria admits that it is spending \$3 million a day to support the war against Namibia.

At the political level, SWAPO is mobilizing the great masses of the Namibian people and it has succeeded in thwarting all the attempts to create puppet movements or governments, all the attempts to impose a neocolonialist pseudo-solution.

[AVANTE] The ties between the governments of Pretoria and Tel-Aviv are well known. What effect does this have on the situation in your country?

[Shihepo] It has effects in many areas. In the military area, technology, troop training.

For instance, South Africa buys warplanes from Israel, which also trains South African troops (with 300 instructors in Namibia alone). Moreover, Israeli soldiers are being trained on our Namibian territory, using the desert conditions in our country to prepare for the wars against the Arab peoples. Both South Africa and the United States are helping to perfect a new Israeli-manufactured jet plane.

There is another fact worth noting. There is a powerful Jewish group in South Africa which also supports Israel economically. This financial support is significant, even surpassing the support from the United States.

A significant fact: this capitalist Zionist group will only hire personnel in its companies who have served in the war in Namibia.

[AVANTE] What has come of the efforts of the "Contact Group"?

[Shihepo] SWAPO has been making an effort to have the Namibian problem shifted over to the United Nations.

Actually, the Contact Group confined its activity to going among the United States, South Africa and the African states in the zone, declaring that Namibian independence must come about. Nothing more. Actually, it was only supporting South Africa's position.

This is why the OAU, its Liberation Struggle Committee and the Nonaligned Movement, in its last meeting, supported SWAPO in the sense of bringing the problem before the UN Security Council.

Under those circumstances, the Contact Group is irrelevant.

In fact, there is a base--internationally recognized and one which SWAPO supports--for the solution to the Namibian problem. It is UN Resolution 435.

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STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ATTENDING 10TH PCP CONGRESS

MPLA

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 22 Dec 83 Supplement p 15

[Excerpts from address by Maria Ruth Netto, member of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, to the 10th Portuguese Party Congress, held in Porto from 15 to 18 December 1983]

[Text] On behalf of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, I have the great honor of conveying the warmest greetings of the Angolan people and the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee to the militant mass of the Portuguese Communist Party, on the occasion of this highly important event which is taking place here today.

We also bear the most comradely wishes of Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos for great success in the proceedings of the 10th Party Congress.

The 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party is taking place at an extremely difficult moment in the international situation, characterized by a sharp resurgence of belligerent acts by the militarist and reactionary Western circles, aimed at challenging the foundations of peaceful coexistence, reviving the period following World War II, when humanity was under the cloud of the hateful cold war.

As in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia, the countries and peoples of the African continent are facing increasingly serious problems because of the interventionist policy of the Western powers, led by the U.S. imperialists, which have determined to train their guns upon us.

In their action against the African people, the imperialists have concentrated all their force in southern Africa, using their most servile policeman, the odious racist Pretoria regime, which daily commits the most savage armed attacks against the Front Line countries, the secure rearguard of the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa and , most particularly, against the People's Republic of Angola, where it occupies a large part of Cunene Province.

Such attacks are aimed not only at forcing us to withdraw the steadfast support of our people, party and government for the just struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples, led, respectively, by SWAPO and the ANC, but are also

aimed at the economic, political and social destabilization of the People's Republic of Angola, with the futile end of preventing the realization of the option, freely made by our people, to build a socialist society.

We would like to take this opportunity to voice our condemnation of the arms race fomented by the imperialists, led by the United States. Ignoring the repeated constructive proposals of the USSR, they do not hesitate to hold all the peoples of the world in hostage, a situation which has become even more perilous with the decision to install the so-called first-strike nuclear weapons in some European countries.

Despite all the above-mentioned difficulties, the Angolan people, led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the MPLA-Labor party, are engaged with unshakable determination in consolidating the conquests they have won, making enormous efforts to safeguard the revolution and to build socialism in the land of Agostinho Neto.

With such determination and with the support of their natural allies--the USSR and the countries of the socialist community--the Angolan people from Cabinda to Cunene are engaged in carrying out the appropriate directives of the party's higher organs, successfully applying the guidelines of the First Extraordinary Party Congress. Enormous victories are recorded daily in various areas of social, economic, political and military life.

We take pride in our close friendship and ties of solidarity with the Portuguese communists, which continue to be intensified at a time when both of us are engaged in a battle without truce against the common enemy of progress and social justice--international imperialism--which vainly attempts to thwart the highest aspirations of oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world.

We are certain that this detachment [of Portuguese Communists], which under extraordinarily adverse and complex conditions of clandestinity managed to gain the vital support of the Portuguese working masses in the struggle to bring about a just social order, without exploiter or exploited, will, in this congress, be able to reinforce the tactics and strategy required for the consolidation of the victories achieved.

We offer our best wishes for success in the proceedings of the 10th congress of your historic party. We are certain that this event of transcendent importance will also constitute an invaluable contribution in strengthening and unifying the international worker and communist movement.

Nicaragua

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 22 Dec 83 Supplement p 15

[Excerpts from speech by Hernan Estrada, chief of the European section of the International Relations Department of the Sandinist National Liberation Front]

[Text] In the name of the national leadership of the and the Nicaraguan people, on the occasion of your 10th party congress, salute the party militants and the working people of Portugal and offer our militant revolutionary greetings.

Despite the military, political and economic attacks against us, we have been making great efforts to achieve the peace so desired by all the Nicaraguan people.

However, the enemies of the revolution seek to sabotage all these efforts and to destroy the social conquests which we have achieved in 4 and 1/2 years.

We are accused of exporting our revolution and, at the same time, the multinational news media, controlled by Yankee imperialism, distort the reality of our revolutionary process.

Comrades, no one can prevent the example of the Nicaraguan revolution, which is the only thing which we export to the other Central American and Latin American peoples who are struggling to free themselves from exploitation and to build more just societies.

Maintaining a flexible and generous policy which seeks a peaceful and negotiated solution for the Central American region, on 4 December 1983 Daniel Ortega, revolutionary commander and coordinator of the Junta of the Government for National Reconstruction, published two highly important decrees.

The first decree announced an election calendar, to commence on 31 January and to culminate in elections in 1985.

The second decree declared amnesty for all Nicaraguan citizens who took up arms after 19 July 1979, except for the counterrevolutionary leaders and those who had held high military posts in the Somoza army.

As internationalists, we are certain that, in our hard struggle, we have the support of the communist comrades of Portugal and that the strength of their solidarity with our country will help to bring the Reagan administration to reconsider its stubborn plan to destroy a small and poor country which does not represent a threat to anyone and which desires peace and control of its own destiny.

If Nicaragua is invaded, I want to tell you, comrades, that we are also prepared for war and that all the frontiers of Central America will disappear in the battle to repel the Yankee invader who dares to venture into Nicaragua.

FRELIMO

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 13

[Text of statement by Aurelio Manave, member of the FRELIMO Central Committee]

[Text] On behalf of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee, the communists and working classes of Mozambique, I hail the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, all the militants and the Portuguese working class, on this grand occasion of the 10th congress of your party.

Your gesture in inviting us to take part in this congress is a lively expression of the fellowship which unites our two parties and the Mozambican and Portuguese peoples.

We still have vivid memories of the warm and friendly welcome given to Comrade Samora Machel, president of the FRELIMO Party and of the People's Republic of Mozambique, when he visited your beautiful country, and the friendly meeting which he had on that occasion with Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party.

That meeting strengthened the deep friendship which unites our two parties and heightened the importance which we attribute to the continuing development of cooperation and solidarity between the Mozambican and Portuguese peoples.

Comrades,

In April 1983 we held our Fourth Party Congress, in which we enjoyed the presence and the fraternal participation of a high-ranking delegation from your party.

"To defend the country, to overcome underdevelopment, to build socialism": this was the order of the day which guided the congress, in which we made an exhaustive analysis of the economic, social and political situation in our country. On the basis of that analysis, decisions were made aimed at our progress in two major areas: combat against hunger and poverty, and the defense of the country.

The harsh drought which is now devastating our continent, particularly our country, has severely affected our people, creating intolerable hunger and poverty. In some areas affected by the criminal activity of the armed bands organized by South Africa, the systematic looting of the peasants' food supplies and the deliberate actions to impede distribution to the people created situations of need and a dearth of assistance which sowed death in the local population.

The situation was alleviated temporarily with the recent military offensive against the bandits and with the food aid which we have been receiving from the international community.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique, we do not retreat. We will always be firm in our support for and our solidarity with the just struggles for national liberation. Particularly, we are united with the people's struggles in our region, with the struggle of the South African people, led by the ANC, and the Namibian people, led by SWAPO, to assert their inalienable rights.

Dear comrades,

The struggle of the Portuguese people in defense of their hard-won democracy is testimony to the people's love of peace and freedom.

To promote economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, based on equality, respect and mutual advantage, is to contribute to the creation of a climate of mutual awareness and understanding essential to cement relations between nations.

For this reason, we wish to hail the Portuguese communists, who have stood behind their party and spared no effort or sacrifice to achieve these objectives.

The traditional relations between the FRELIMO Party and the Portuguese Communist Party, the frequent fruitful contacts between Comrade Samora Machel and Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, have helped to strengthen the existing friendship, solidarity and cooperation.

Congresses are always heightened moments in the life of a party and its members. So we are sure that the Portuguese communists will emerge from this congress with renewed vigor and that they will have found the guidelines that will respond to the just aspirations of the Portuguese workers and people, for peace, justice, social progress and freedom.

Lebanese Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 13

[Text of address by Abdoul-Samad Nadim, member of the Political Commission of the Lebanese Communist Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Dear comrades:

First allow me to convey, in the name of the Lebanese Communist Party, its leaders and its members, a brotherly greeting to your congress, to all the delegates and, through you, to all the Portuguese communists and democrats. Permit me to wish you great success.

Now, as your party is holding its congress, the situation in Lebanon and in the Middle East has deteriorated to a degree hitherto unknown. It is an explosive situation, which not only threatens the sovereignty of Lebanon, its unity, its independence and the future of its people, but all the other peoples in the region and world peace itself.

The responsibility for this deterioration lies principally with the United States.

For the first time since the Vietnam war, for the first time in the history of the Near East, the United States has deployed a formidable armada on the Lebanese coast. These aircraft carriers, these ships of all kinds, these planes by the hundreds are being used by the United States in the Lebanese civil war, against the patriotic Lebanese forces and against Syria. This growing aggressiveness simply confirms the hysterical madness which now characterizes American policy and which is reflected in other areas, in the crisis of the Euromissiles, in the desperate arms race, in the aggressive operation in Grenada and in many other cases involving other matters.

Comrades, the Americans came to Lebanon during the Israeli invasion and because of that invasion, to act as a peace-keeping force. But their true intentions were very quickly revealed. Because of this ever-growing intervention, the American force in Lebanon became an aggressive occupation force, which impeded the process of reconciliation which had begun in Geneva, with the participation of the various parties in conflict in Lebanon. The American force is preventing any solution to the Lebanese crisis. Actually, the Americans want to use any pretext to maintain their troops on Lebanese soil as long as possible, to pursue their policy of domination.

The talk about the threats to which those troops are being subjected is, in fact, only the first natural step in the aggression in which they are engaged.

The only way to preserve the security of those troops is to remove them from Lebanon, to evacuate these and all the other Atlantic Pact troops, because they have totally deviated from the mission which was entrusted to them at the outset.

Our people are more than ever determined, whatever price must be paid and whatever sacrifice must be accepted, to continue the struggle against the occupation, the aggression and the repression. Our people are determined to continue the struggle with all the means at their disposal to drive out the occupier and to recover their independence.

At the military level, the Lebanese national resistance front is constantly inflicting punishment on the Israeli occupation troops. The front speaks the only language that an occupier as arrogant and murderous as Israel can understand--the language of arms--to defend the country, to liberate it from those who now hold it captive and defile its values and property.

Our people are determined to strengthen their alliance with Syria, which is currently the vital bastion of resistance against the Israeli-American aggression in the region and which has courageously faced the American attacks and the recent shows of force by the Pentagon army.

We are also very concerned with consolidating our alliance with the Palestinian revolutionary forces, as well as all the members of the Arab National Liberation Movement and all the democratic forces and forces for peace and freedom, principally the Soviet Union, to which we Lebanese are particularly grateful for its support, at all levels, for our cause and our struggle.

May I say that we are honored to join with you in this great movement, the international communist movement, faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, messenger of all the aspirations of humanity for its liberation from capitalism and imperialism, messenger of peace, freedom and socialism.

Arab Baath Socialist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 14

[Excerpts from speech by Fawwaz Suyyagh, alternate member of the national directorate of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] I have the honor of representing the Arab Baath Socialist Party at your party congress, and I respectfully convey to all of you and to Comrade Alvaro Cunhal the best wishes and affectionate greetings of our party, the Syrian people and, particularly, Comrade Hafiz al-Assad, our secretary general and president of the republic.

Dear Comrades:

At this moment, our Syria, in particular, and the progressive forces of the Arab world in general are facing continuing and increasingly strong pressure

and even military attacks by the imperialist forces, led by the United States of America and its tool in our region, the state of Israel in occupied Palestine.

Under cover of the so-called multinational force in Lebanon, the U.S. marines are attacking the progressive national forces of Lebanon, the Syrian army and the Palestinians in Lebanon. At the same time, the United States is increasing its political and military aid to Israel through a strategic treaty signed in Washington last month.

American imperialism, now under the Reagan administration, seeks to foment tension throughout the world, installing new missiles in Europe, against the wishes of the European people, supporting dictatorships in Central and South America and attacking the progressive and independent countries in that area, supporting the racist regime in South Africa and supporting reactionary Asian governments against their peoples.

As we confront the aggressive U.S. policy, we must remain strong and united to overthrow it, and we can only do this by strengthening the fraternal relations of the social and progressive forces and the socialist/communist parties and movements throughout the world, by cooperating with socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

Comrades, we are firmly committed to combating U.S. imperialism, aggression, Zionism and racism. The more victories we achieve in this combat, the closer we will be to attaining the goals of our peoples: to liberate our countries and to build socialism.

We have no other choice but to struggle against the aggression directed at our people and our country, to free our occupied land from the Israelis and to win back the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people, so they may return to their country and determine their future, so they may build an independent state there.

Syrian Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 14

[Excerpts from speech by Yossef Faissal, member of the Political Bureau and assistant secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] The struggle of your party to defend your country's sovereignty and the democratic and social conquests of the April revolution has won the attention and respect of the progressive Arab forces. We follow with great interest your struggle against the installation of the U.S. bases in your country and their use against the Arab peoples in struggle. The report presented by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, a great leader of the Portuguese and international revolutionary movement, describes the political, economic, ideological and organizational tasks that must be undertaken in the coming years. We are certain, dear comrade delegates, that the PCP, the party of national independence and peace, the party of the working classes and of social progress, will accomplish these tasks and achieve its mission.

Dear comrades, the situation in our region worsens and the tension increases from day to day. Syria is surrounded by more than 40 U.S. war ships which have come 13,000 kilometers. Supported by the Atlantic powers and by the Israeli army, they are threatening the Lebanese and Syrian coasts. And they are already committing acts of aggression. The cannons aboard the New Jersey and the American planes have already fired and are firing upon Syrian positions and the militia of the patriotic Lebanese forces. Syria's antiaircraft defense has responded, shooting down three American planes. It is the first time since the Vietnam war that American imperialism has been dealt such a harsh blow.

The United States of America, in direct collaboration with Israel, is preparing a more massive attack against Syria. American imperialism seeks to dominate the Middle East, which it covets for its oil wealth and its strategic position.

Within this overall strategy, the imperialists wish to turn the Middle East into a stronghold and a military base pointed against the Soviet Union and all the peoples of the world.

The U.S. imperialists want to install Pershing and Cruise missiles in our region, as they have just installed them in Europe.

Syria rejects all their plans and is pursuing an anti-imperialist policy in defense of world peace. Our national struggle against the American military presence and against the escalating aggression is a struggle for peace and against the threat of a nuclear war unleashed by the Americans.

All the forces of the Arab Liberation Movement support the Syrian policy, which is consistent with the interests of the Syrian people, the Lebanese national forces and the Palestinian people.

The USSR, the great friend of the Arab peoples, supports the legitimate struggle with every means possible, and all the Syrian people express their acknowledgment of that support.

Our people do not want war; we do not threaten any country. But we do not give way to American-Israeli pressure, whatever form it may take.

Syria became an obstacle to the American plans. Every means was used to subdue Syria and make it retreat, but this only strengthened our people's will to resist.

This is why the Reagan administration decided to attack Syria's anti-imperialist regime and to annihilate our people.

We appeal to all the communist parties, all the progressive forces and honest individuals in the world and the great country of Lenin, the Soviet Union, and its party, the Soviet Communist Party, to counter the American plans in our region and to demand the total withdrawal of the U.S. and Atlantic forces.

The strengthening of the alliance among the national and progressive Arab forces, more particularly among Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement, represents a very important factor in the struggle against the intentions of U.S. imperialism and Israel's expansionist designs.

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 14

[Excerpts from speech by Awgichew Kefyalew, member of the Central Committee, Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia]

[Text] The 10th congress of your party is being held at a critical moment, when North American imperialism and its agents are jeopardizing demilitarization and threatening the peace through their intensification of the arms race and direct or indirect intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

The Reagan administration has adopted, in practice, a policy of armed force for the resolution of international problems. This policy was clearly demonstrated in the invasion of Grenada, a small island country, a member of the United Nations and easy prey for the United States. Such an adventurist policy of interference, provocation and war, pursued by American imperialism, will naturally have important consequences for world peace and security. Despite repeated appeals for peace by the Soviet Union and peace-loving countries throughout the world, the Reagan administration and its allies are proceeding with the installation of the Pershing II missiles in Europe.

Meanwhile, it is encouraging to see how the peace movements throughout the world are taking action, on an unprecedented level, against the war hysteria unleashed by the bellicose imperialists and against the installation of the Pershing II missiles in Europe.

We are united with the world peace movement.

The Ethiopian revolution is engaged in a harsh struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction. The Ethiopian workers are currently consolidating the political, ideological, economic and social conquests of the revolution and are successfully creating the foundations for socialism.

A prerequisite for the achievement of this goal is the creation of a vanguard party, which will come about in September 1984.

Comrades and friends:

Today as never before, the international tension created by imperialism requires the unity of the progressive forces and peace-loving peoples throughout the world, to exorcise the danger of war. On behalf of the COPWE Central Committee, the people and the revolutionary government of Ethiopia, I would like to take this opportunity to declare our steadfast solidarity with the Portuguese Communist party in its struggle for peace and social progress. In conclusion, I would also like to voice our conviction that the results of this congress will help to reinforce the struggle of the progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

SWAPO

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 15

[Excerpts from speech by Aaron Shihepo, member of the SWAPO Central Committee and assistant secretary for foreign relations, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the struggling people of Namibia, I bring the warm, militant and friendly greetings of my delegation.

The soldiers--men and women--of the Army for the Popular Liberation of Namibia (PLAN) salute you, and also the Portuguese working masses, and wish you great success in this 10th congress.

In addition, Comrade Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO and leader of the Namibian revolution, has asked me to convey his revolutionary and cordial greetings to Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The Namibian people greatly admire and respect the courageous and steadfast determination of your party in mobilizing the masses, even under extremely unfavorable conditions. The party has shown itself to be a strong bulwark in your struggle, creating and strengthening the confidence of the broad popular masses of Portugal.

For this reason, it has become a source of inspiration for those of us who are struggling against the colonial occupation and the savage economic exploitation.

This congress is taking place at a crucial moment in the struggle of the Namibian people, in particular, and the southern African region in general.

It is also a period in which the infamous alliance between the racist regime and the Reagan administration is being consolidated through the so-called "constructive compromise." In this process, our suffering and oppressed people are used as a political sacrifice or expedient to achieve the Reagan administration's dreams of glory and world domination. For this reason, Reagan and his racist Pretoria allies continue to insist on the withdrawal of the internationalist Cuban forces as a prerequisite for Namibian independence.

SWAPO and the Namibian people condemn this attempt with the disgust which it deserves. We will continue to cooperate with the efforts of the UN secretary general to insure the implementation of Resolution 435, in accordance with the mandate of the Security Council.

In their heroic armed struggle for liberation, the Namibian people have achieved impressive victories over the enemy forces. There are economic problems to the extent that industries are now forced to import electric power from South Africa at a very high cost.

To maintain its occupation army in Namibia, which is currently costing it \$3 million per day, the racist South African regime, aided by the Reagan administration, was recently forced to borrow \$1.07 million from the IMF. Moreover, the war in Namibia has obliged the Pretoria regime to become the largest recruiter of mercenaries in the world.

The racist Pretoria regime, with the support and collusion of its imperialist allies, primarily the Reagan administration, continues with its military attacks against its independent African neighbor states, its primary target being the People's Republic of Angola. Using Namibia as a launching area, the South Africans are occupying Cunene Province and are destroying the economic infrastructures. The Pretoria junta and its imperialist mentors are seeking to force the People's Republic of Angola, Mozambique and other states to abandon their principled support for the legitimate and just struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO, and the South African people, led by the ANC. This policy is doomed to failure, however, and is repudiated throughout the world.

Dear comrades, the deployment of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, pointed at the community of socialist nations, is of great concern to us, because if there were a holocaust or a nuclear conflagration, it would mean the end of all humanity.

However, strengthening the unity of the socialist community, the working classes and the national liberation movements, we will emerge victorious.

With Reagan's accession to the presidency, with his policy of destroying the national liberation movements of southern Africa, SWAPO and the ANC have no choice but to intensify the armed liberation struggle until the yoke and the chains of oppression are totally destroyed.

We wish you the greatest success with your congress. Long live the fraternal friendship between the Portuguese people and our people in struggle to regain our freedom and dignity!

Greek Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 15

[Excerpts from address by Antonia Abaticios, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece (KEE), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] The Greek communists have followed with great interest the struggles of your party in defense of the conquests of the April Revolution.

We stand beside you in your difficult struggle against the attacks led by the Portuguese reactionary forces to destroy the conquests of the working people of your country.

Comrades, your congress is being held at a time when imperialism, led by the hotheads in Washington, is carrying out acts of aggression which threaten humanity with thermonuclear devastation. They are intervening in independent states

in Central America and the Middle East. They are overthrowing legitimate governments and attempting to put down popular movements. Peace is threatened as never before. Today, as yesterday, the Portuguese communists are taking their place in the forefront of the battle in defense of peace and against the installation of the Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe.

Our party is struggling for real change in our country. The Greek communists, leading the popular mass movement, are struggling to democratize the internal life of the country; they are struggling for real change.

The KKE is currently seeking to unite all the democratic forces to pursue a new policy, a policy which will respond to the real problems of our people and our country.

The Greek Communist Party advocates a democratic government formed with all the forces which support a real change, with a minimum program for the solution of the vital problems of the people and the country, one that will make real change possible.

Our major targets continue to be the Right and the monopolies. It is our people who are fighting against the position of the government, which welcomes the monopolies, and it is our people who must bear the burden and the consequences of the crisis.

We are struggling for our country's withdrawal from NATO and from the EEC, and for the elimination of the foreign bases and nuclear arms from Greece. We support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, aimed at insuring the peace and security of all peoples.

There is already a vast and growing peace movement in our country. The democratic forces of Greece express their moral and material support for the peoples in struggle for their freedom. The members and cadres of the KKE and the Greek Communist Youth--the KNE--are in the vanguard of the struggle of the Greek people.

Dear comrades, our two parties are united by deep friendship and solidarity. The Greek communists are intensely interested in your activities. We will continue in the future to develop and strengthen our ties, in the interest of our peoples and of the international communist movement.

Guinea-Bissau

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 Supplement p 15

[Excerpts from address by Nicandro Barreto, member of the Central Committee of the African Party for the Defense of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC)]

[Text] First of all, on behalf of the PAIGC, its secretary general, Comrade Joao Bernardo Vieira, and its militants, may I offer warm greetings to the 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party and express our pleasure at being invited to send a delegation to this important event.

On behalf of the PAIGC secretary general and its Central Committee, I convey to the PCP secretary general in particular, to the leaders and to the militants of your great party, their best wishes for the success of this congress.

Our participation in this highest forum of your party is further proof of our alliance and our unswerving support for your ceaseless struggle to build a just society, without exploitation of men by men.

Our participation also reflects the strengthening of our bilateral cooperation and of the traditional friendship and solidarity which have united our two parties since the difficult period of our struggle for national liberation and which have been confirmed in the pursuit of the same goals of peace, democracy, freedom, dignity, progress and continued well being for our peoples and for all humanity.

Carrying out its internationalist duties, the PAIGC continues to support peoples in struggle for democracy and independence, holding to its anticolonialist anti-imperialist position and to its alliance with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In this context, we continue to offer our firm support to the peoples of Namibia, South Africa, the Sahara, East Timor, Palestine, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and certainly Cuba, which is under the constant threat of imperialist aggression.

The PAIGC also continues to fight for the establishment of a new international economic order and for an open and frank dialogue between the Third World countries and the developed nations.

Comrade congressmen:

We are currently witnessing an international imperialist attempt to pursue and intensify its destabilizing maneuvers.

Considering the existence of some foci of tension in the world, which are threatening international peace and security, the PAIGC delegation to this congress feels that the international community must take effective action to avert the catastrophe of a new world war, so that, with peace, we can assure the survival of humanity and the prosperity of all peoples.

In conclusion, we would like to reaffirm to the PCP our combative and militant solidarity with its just struggle, and to reiterate our best wishes that the resolutions to come out of this congress will serve to strengthen the party and its implantation among the masses, and will also help to preserve peace, international security and the welfare of humanity.

Cape Verde

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 p 15

[Text of address by Joaquim Pedro Silva, member of the Secretariat of the National Council of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV)]

[Text] First, on behalf of the National Council of the PAICV, the party militants and Comrade Aristides Pereira, its secretary general, we would like to convey

our warm and brotherly greetings to the 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party, our thanks for the invitation extended to us and also our best wishes for the success of your labors.

It is already becoming customary for us to take part in meetings of this highest organ of your party. This is indisputable evidence of our friendship, militant solidarity and fruitful cooperation in the past, which we have a present and future obligation to continue to strengthen, always with new content, based on the deepest aspirations of our respective peoples.

In the past, these relations were reflected in the struggle against a common oppressor: fascism in your country and colonialism in our land. The April victory, which was also a product of a common struggle, not only dispelled the spectre of that backward and oppressive fascism in your country, opening the way to the democratization of your society, but it facilitated and completed the process of decolonization in all the occupied and dominated territories.

In choosing, as the slogan of your congress, "With the PCP, April will continue," you have paid just homage to that revolution which the PCP helped to make victorious, and [to the PCP], whose members include the most distinguished, selfless and determined perpetuators of that revolution.

In Cape Verde, the basic goal in the current phase of our struggle is the gradual elimination of the internal and external obstacles to the total liberation of the productive forces and an end to the exploitation of men by men.

However, there are countless obstacles to overcome. The weighty consequences of the colonial exploitation, the situation resulting from unfavorable weather conditions and the scarcity of natural resources, aggravated by a prolonged drought, are factors which affect our action, both politically and in terms of the creation of the material bases essential to meet the basic needs of our people.

Despite these adverse factors, the efforts of the working people, led by our PAICV, have produced encouraging results and have inspired us to continue our struggle against underdevelopment. We are facing the future with greater confidence and security.

Comrades;

In July 1982, a delegation from your party, led by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, visited our country at the invitation of the Political Commission of our party.

The evident friendship and sympathy with which the delegation was welcomed by our militants, leaders, officials and the population in general, as well as the opportunity which the delegation had to observe the projects in progress in that phase of our national reconstruction, were factors for the further strengthening of our traditional ties of friendship and cooperation, in the interest of our parties and the solidarity of our respective peoples.

Mongolia

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[Text of address by P. Damdin, secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and all the Mongolian communists, and speaking personally for Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, secretary general of our party, I have been asked to convey to you, the delegates of the 10th PCP Congress and, through you, to all the Portuguese communists, our fraternal and warm greetings and best wishes for great success in your valiant struggle.

Having accepted your cordial invitation, our delegation has come here to reaffirm our internationalist solidarity with the Portuguese communists in their continuing struggle in defense of the vital interests of the labor class and other working class levels in the country, to safeguard and strengthen the democratic conquests of the April Revolution of 1974 and to preserve and consolidate the peace and security of all peoples, against the aggressive plans and actions of American imperialism and its NATO allies.

The Mongolian communists and workers have always voiced and continue to voice their sincere sympathy and deep respect for the Portuguese Communist Party, the combative vanguard of the Portuguese working class and one of the most faithful and authoritative detachments of the international communist and worker movement.

We note with great satisfaction that the fellowship and internationalist solidarity between the MPRP and the PCP are growing and becoming stronger year by year. Evidence of this was the visit of Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the PCP, to our country in 1981.

The 10th PCP Congress is taking place at a time when the international situation has been seriously aggravated by the continuing arms race and criminal military aggression which constitute the policy of American imperialism and the other forces of international reaction.

At the present moment, the most important and urgent task of all the peoples of our planet is to avert the threat of a nuclear war and to safeguard world peace.

The constructive peace initiatives and proposals of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community and the countermeasures which they have been obliged to take against the installation of new American missiles in certain European countries are decisive factors in insuring peace in Europe and throughout the world.

After more than 60 years, thanks to the fraternal internationalist aid of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, and in close cooperation with them, the Mongolian people, led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, have been able to transform a once

backward and feudal Mongolia into a socialist state in dynamic development, with a multi-sectored modern economy, a culture in full growth and a rising standard of living.

Today the Mongolian people are working selflessly to implement the historic decisions of the party's 18th congress for the building of socialism in our country. Pursuing a foreign policy of peace and the development of friendship and cooperation with all countries and all peoples, our party strongly advocates the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and worker movement, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The workers of Mongolia, as always, are totally united with the just struggle of all the peoples and forces against imperialism and reaction, against war, for the peace and security of all peoples.

In conclusion, on behalf of the communists and workers of the People's Republic of Mongolia, allow me to wish the delegates to this convention and all the Portuguese communists new and great successes in your tireless struggle for the development of the country, on the path of democracy and social progress which was opened by the April Revolution, and for peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

Romanian Communist Party

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[Excerpts from address by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we bring warm greetings to the comrade delegates of the 10th PCP Congress, to all the members of the party and to the Portuguese workers, along with our message of friendship and militant solidarity.

The Romanian communists look with feelings of solidarity upon the activities of the PCP in defense and promotion of the interests of the workers, to bring about the deepest aspirations of the Portuguese people for well being, democracy, progress and peace.

Dear comrades:

The Romanian people, under the direction of the Romanian Communist Party, led by Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, are constantly working to carry out the basic goals established by the 12th Party Congress for the current 5-year plan for 1981-1985: to insure the continuing development of the productive forces; to achieve a higher level of agricultural activity; to bring about a new agrarian revolution; to execute an energy program so that, by 1985, Romania will have achieved independence with regard to energy and fuels and can satisfy more of its needs for raw materials; and to continue to raise the material and spiritual standard of living. Our party is taking effective action to intensify and perfect socialist democracy, by continuing to broaden the active and direct

participation of the working class, the peasants and the intelligentsia, of all the people, in the organization and direction of the society, so as to insure the conditions for the well-rounded development of the human personality.

In its international activity, socialist Romania gives particular attention to the development of relations with all the socialist countries, to expanded relations with developing countries, with the nonaligned countries and with all countries of the world, regardless of their social system, based on the universally valid principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

Considering the serious events which are occurring in international life, the intensification of the nuclear arms race and the increased danger of war, of a nuclear catastrophe, socialist Romania and its Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu are engaged in intensive international activity for the solution of the complex problems facing humanity and for the building of a better and more just world, in accordance with the aspirations of all peoples for peace, progress and civilization.

The Romanian Communist Party attributes particular importance to the continued strengthening of cooperation with the communist and workers parties, socialist parties, the progressive parties of the newly independent states, the national liberation movements and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, based on mutual esteem and respect for the right of each party to draft its political lines, revolutionary strategy and tactics in accordance with the specific circumstances of each country, because the efforts of the popular masses must be united in the struggle for peace, disarmament, national independence and social justice.

We thank you for the invitation to take part in your congress, dear comrades, and wish you much success in your labors, in your activity as a party dedicated to the realization of the Portuguese people's desire for justice and well-being, for the triumph of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Vietnam

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 10

[Excerpts from addresss by Hong Ha, member of the Central Committee and director of the central organ of the Vietnam Communist Party (VCP), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] We are very happy to have the honor and the pleasure of attending the 10th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party and we would like, first of all, to convey, to your congress and to all the Portuguese communists, the warmest greetings from the VCP, the working class and the people of Vietnam.

In the period since the last congress, continuing the process of development of the April Revolution and always faithful to its ideals and goals, your party has accomplished new and great achievements. This is clearly evident in the daily life of your country, in the way the AVANTE festivals have been celebrated, in the ever-growing international prestige of the PCP, in the shining eyes of every Portuguese communist and in the atmosphere of enthusiasm in this very congress.

Facing up to the mad counteroffensive of the reactionary forces, both domestic and foreign, your party has always moved forward with secure steps, presenting the brightest image of an authentic communist party, filled with vitality and creative spirit, strongly rooted in the working masses, possessing a correct political line and one of true proletarian internationalism, vigorous defending the interests of the working class, the nation and the Portuguese people. The heart of every Vietnamese communist beats in time with yours....

Dear comrades:

Pursuant to the resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the VCP, the Vietnamese people, free and reunited at last, are engaged in overcoming countless difficulties to carry out their two strategic tasks: to build and to defend their socialist country. Determined to protect our national independence at any cost, our deepest hope is to be able to live in peace, so that we may devote ourselves to building a new life, and to be able to maintain friendly relations with our neighbor countries.

Dear comrades, in the world arena, we are witness to the unbridled acts of gross intervention and armed aggression perpetrated by the Reagan administration and its acolytes, and its policy of pursuing the arms race, creating many foci of extreme tension on our planet and seriously aggravating the danger of a nuclear war that could mean the extermination of all humanity. Fortunately, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, acting in concert with the world forces for peace and progress, have managed to ward off this universal peril, and lasting peace, the heritage so dear to all of us, may well be achieved.

Afghanistan

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 10

[Excerpts from address by Saio Amir Zarra, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades:

The delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan expresses its profound gratitude for the invitation to take part in your party congress. The PDPA assigns great value to the role of the PCP, the militant vanguard of the labor class and all the Portuguese workers in the struggle for progress....

The PDPA and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan have taken basic steps in implementing the national program of democratic changes adopted in the national congress of our party on 15 March 1983. Even now, despite the subversive action of the counterrevolution and the continuation of the undeclared war by the forces of imperialism and reaction, the second phase of agrarian reform is now underway. Basic changes have been introduced in the system of education and instruction. We are pursuing the campaign against illiteracy, consistent with the circumstances of our country. New industrial projects have been carried out or are in progress. Agricultural production has increased over previous years. We are making great strides in the process of consolidation and stabilization.

The foreign policy of the PDPA and of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is based on the principles of friendship and peaceful coexistence among states with differing socioeconomic systems, nonalignment and proletarian internationalism. It is in the pursuit of these goals, based on peaceful principles, that the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has twice offered constructive proposals (in May 1980 and on 24 August 1981) for the normalization of the situation in the region and for the restoration of peace and tranquillity in southern and southeast Asia and throughout the world. The neighbor states, Pakistan and Iran, have not yet responded positively to bring about a solution to the problems in the region.

Despite this situation, our party and state, sustained by the unshakeable strength of the working people of the country and by the support and proletarian solidarity of the USSR, other socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces, are constantly taking important steps toward new victories. Imperialism cannot turn back the course of history.

Comrades;

We greatly appreciate your militant solidarity with our revolution, our people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. We wish you the greatest success in the proceedings of your congress and new victories for your party.

Yugoslavia

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 10

[Excerpts from address by Hamdija Pozderac, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] On behalf of the LCY Central Committee and Central Committee Presidium, all the communists and the working people of our country, as well as in my own name, may I convey to the 10th PCP Congress our comradely greetings and best wishes for its fruitful work and success.

We also wish on this occasion to express our satisfaction at the development of good relations between the LCY and the PCP, and stress our readiness and our interest to continue to broaden and promote our cooperation in various fields, as a contribution to greater mutual knowledge, understanding and the overall strengthening of the cooperation and friendship between our peoples and countries.

We follow with great interest the Portuguese communists' activity and their efforts and experiences in the complex struggle to bring about progressive and democratic changes in Portuguese society and we applaud the successes which, together with other democratic Portuguese forces, you are achieving in this area....

Socialist Yugoslavia fully contributes to the movement of the nonaligned countries as an independent and non-bloc factor whose activities are directed toward the struggle against the policy of force, against imperialism, and against all forms of domination and hegemony, but for balanced international cooperation based

on the principle of peaceful coexistence, for peace, for disarmament and for world progress. This policy is the only alternative to the policy of confrontation of blocs and global division.

We believe, particularly in this difficult situation which the modern world is facing now, that an essential condition for socialist transformation and the development of socialism is the establishment of truly democratic relations among all the progressive and democratic movements based on due respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, noninterference, mutual respect and a free and creative exchange of views and experiences without pressures or imposition of views. The world increasingly feels the need for dialogue and cooperation among the forces struggling for peace, the people's freedom and independence, social progress and peace.

Dear comrades:

Reiterating the LCY's readiness to promote cooperation with the PCP, we wish you great success with your congress and in your struggle for the progressive development of your country and its people and for democracy, peace and socialism in the world.

Korean Workers Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 11

[Excerpts from address by Hwang Chang-Yup, secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party, I warmly salute the 10th PCP Congress.

I also take this opportunity to convey the fraternal greetings of the party members and the workers of Korea to the PCP members and the working class of your country.

Certain that your congress will be an event of great significance for your future activities, we offer our sincere wishes for great success in the proceedings of the congress. Founded 60 years ago as the vanguard detachment of the Portuguese working class, the PCP has, by hard struggle, become a powerful political force.

Today, making use of every opportunity and legitimate possibility, your party is acting in defense of the conquests of the 25 April Revolution and to insure world peace and security.

We warmly congratulate the PCP for all its achievements.

Comrades,

The Reagan administration in the United States is increasing its stock of nuclear weapons and its arms expenditures. It is openly conducting armed interventions and destructive and subversive maneuvers everywhere in the world. Because of this, Europe is threatened with a new nuclear war. National independence in Central America has been cruelly violated and tragic situations have been created; the destinies of nations and countries have become playthings in southern Africa.

The Korean peninsula is currently the primary launching area for a world nuclear war.

The Yankee imperialists have already deployed 1,0000 nuclear weapons in South Korea and now plan to introduce the neutron bombs abhorred by humanity....

South Korea has become a real nuclear forward base, a nuclear launch pad for imperialism, thus creating a situation in the Korean peninsula in which a nuclear war could be unleashed at any moment.

For this reason, the alleviation of the intense state of tension in the Korean peninsula is a large and important task, directly linked to the cause of world peace, and not just peace in Asia. We feel that the socialist countries, the communist parties, the Third World peoples and all the peace-loving peoples of the world must join together in an antinuclear movement to defend the peace and to thwart the Yankee imperialist maneuvers to provoke a world nuclear war in the Korean peninsula and in northeast Asia.

As it has in the past, the Korean Workers Party will fight firmly, hand in hand with the communist and worker parties, socialist countries and progressive forces of the world, to frustrate the belligerent and aggressive maneuvers of the Yankee imperialists, to defend peace and security in Asia and the world and, without fail, to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of our country.

I take this opportunity to express, once again, our sincere thanks to the PCP, to the working class and to the people of your country for your support for and solidarity with the just cause of our people, for the independent and peaceful reunification of our country following the withdrawal of the North American troops from South Korea.

German Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 11

[Excerpts from address by Hermann Gautier, vice president of the German Communist Party(DKP) of the FRG, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Dear comrades,

It is with a deep sense of solidarity that I bring you the greetings of the German Communist Party.

Your party, the PCP, this strong proletarian party of the masses, enjoys great prestige among the communists and other progressive forces in our country. We admire your struggle, which is based on firm stands and which has won important victories.

You are steadfast in your defense of the interests of the labor class, the peasants and the other working classes and of the great conquests of the April Revolution.

(....)

The deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG and other Western European countries is a dangerous and hostile act, against the vital interests of our people and all peoples in general.

The deployment is a challenge to the country of Red October and to the other socialist countries. The Pershing II and Cruise missiles are weapons of aggression in Reagan's anticommunist crusade.

As long as there are nuclear missiles whose use is to be decided by a U.S. president with the instincts of a gunfighter, there can be no peace and security for the peoples of Europe. The responsibility for the dangerous world situation and the increased threat of a nuclear war lies with the North American imperialists and their servants in our country and other countries of Western Europe.

The Soviet countermeasures are essential to preserve the peace. They have our total support. We firmly rebut the anti-Soviet lies and slander and make every effort to unmask the imperialist war propaganda and to tell our people the truth.

We are fighting fiercely against the danger that another war will be unleashed from German territory. Europe must never become a "Euroshima"!

We will never accept, the people of the FRG will never accept the unconstitutional decision of the reactionary majority in the Bundestag to permit the installation of the weapons in the FRG.

"Jobs, not Missiles," is the slogan of our campaign. The new nuclear arms race, the policy of aggression and anticommunist agitation are costing unbelievable sums, which must be paid by the workers through constant tax increases, poorer working conditions in the companies and mass unemployment.

(....)

We are acting with determination , according to the slogan:

"Everything for peace. Everything for the defense of the working people!"

PLO

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 11

[Excerpts from speech by Abu Jafar, general director of the Political Department of the PLO , to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Comrades,

In their continuing struggle for national rights, namely the right to self-determination , the right to return to the fatherland and to establish an independent state, our people have had the solidarity and support of all the democratic and progressive forces in the world, including your glorious party, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

On the other hand, the United States of America has always been against our people and against our national cause, against the international legality represented by the United Nations and by the repeated UN resolutions in support of our national rights. The United States has always aided and supported Israel, offering military, economic and political encouragement for its expansionist ambitions against other Arab countries.

For its part, Israel has always served as a shock force for the United States in furthering its imperialist interests in the Middle East and against the Arab Liberation Movement...

The series of direct U.S. interventions against our people and other Arab peoples, beginning with the celebrated Camp David accords, followed by the Reagan Plan, the American-Israeli-Lebanese accord and the recently signed U.S.-Israeli strategic accord, were the landmarks in the American-Israeli campaign for the control of the entire Middle Eastern region.

Dear comrades,

We must admit that some secondary disagreements have recently arisen among some Arab national forces and have had negative effects on the struggle against imperialism and against the Israeli occupation.

In this context, the PLO takes this opportunity to appeal to all the patriotic and anti-imperialist Arab forces to unite in their struggle, to put aside their secondary disagreements and to concentrate all their efforts on the sacred cause of liberating the occupied territories, strengthening their national independence and social progress.

Despite all the problems and complex circumstances confronting our people, we will continue our struggle, under the leadership of the PLO, against the most serious danger, the direct military intervention by the United States, and against the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory and that of other Arab countries.

We will continue to lend every support to our comrades who are struggling against the same enemies in Granada, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua, as well as our brothers in Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola.

We of the PLO are confident that, together with all the patriotic Arab forces, we will surely be able to overcome all our problems and, through the sacred struggle against the military intervention of U.S. imperialism and against the Israeli occupation, to win our Palestinian people's national rights, unity and social progress.

Chilean Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Text of address by Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Bureau of the Chilean Communist Party, to the PCP Congress]

[Text] Chile and Portugal are far apart geographically and very different historically. And yet we feel drawn together by something almost like kinship.

What is it? Some political similarities which, in my opinion, are not merely coincidental. You suffered one of the most prolonged fascist regimes and managed to liberate yourselves. Chile is still suffering, but, in this year of 1983, the opposition went on the offensive, and our April is not far away. Your April did not happen by chance. That month, that day of liberation was won through the daily struggle, during more than half a century, of a party that toiled in the shadows--the Portuguese Communist Party. It was heroic labor, adding up to several thousand years of imprisonment and exile. The Chilean Communist Party, tempered in the same Marxist-Leninist school and, like yours, the principal party of the labor class, struggled while others did nothing during this terrible decade.

This has been the year of the return to the great struggle of the masses. There were National Days of Protest, in which multitudes of workers, with or without jobs, took part. The inhabitants of the poor districts joined with the students. Intellectuals took to the street, recalling their poet, Pablo Nerudo, shoulder to shoulder with the people. In the country's major theater, journalists paraded with gags in their mouths. Women took to the street with photographs of their "disappeared," gathering in front of the sentry boxes of the CNI [National Information Center] (your PIDE [International and State Defense Police]), demanding a stop to the torture and the eradication of the regime which has murdered 35,000 people, which practices the system of the "disappeared," which has tortured hundreds of thousands of Chileans and exiled a million of them.

There are protests every month, every week, every day. A million Chileans gathered recently in O'Higgins Park in Santiago, bearing photographs of Allende and banners: "Bread, Work, Justice and Freedom," "Democracy Now," "Down with Pinochet." The beleaguered dictator is resorting to more and more repression. But the people have lost their fear. The general motto is: "Protest any way you can," and they are protesting in a thousand ways. It is not only the poor who are protesting in Chile, but the middle and upper classes, all affected by the crisis and convinced of the failure of this intolerable regime.

Anti-imperialist feelings grew after the crime of Grenada. The situation in the Southern Cone, in Bolivia, in Argentina and in Uruguay, is changing for the better. [South] America is in a state of alert. It supports the just cause of the people of El Salvador. It supports the noble cause of free Nicaragua, against which the Pentagon is waging an undeclared war. We are certain that if Reagan invaded the country of Sandino, Nicaragua would become another Vietnam for the United States.

The people of Chile stand beside the Cuba of Marti and Fidel Castro. Socialism there heralds the future of our continent.

The majority of North, Central and South Americans repudiate this policy that exports nuclear warheads and defends the sinister philosophy of global atomic war. Because we are for peace, we subscribe to the constructive proposals formulated by the Soviet Union and its highest leader, Yuriy Andropov.

The report by your Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal teaches us much about Portugal and today's world. Your party continues to provide us with experiences which the Chilean communists find useful. We are grateful for the lessons of this great congress of the Portuguese Communist Party.

In conclusion, we want to tell you: "Pinochet's days are numbered, because the people united will never be vanquished!"

Yemeni Socialist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Excerpts from address by Abdul Gassi Abdul Kadar, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party]

[Text] Comrade Secretary General;
Comrade delegates;
Distinguished guests:

In the name of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and its Political Bureau, I have the honor of warmly congratulating you on the occasion of the 10th Portuguese Communist Party Congress. This is an important event, not only in the political life of the Portuguese people but also for the international communist movement and all the forces of freedom, democracy and peace throughout the world.

Esteemed comrades:

The peoples of the Middle East and the other regions of the world are witnessing increased attempts by the U.S. administration and the aggressive circles of NATO to bring the Middle East under total imperialist domination and Zionist dictatorship, to achieve the colonialist objectives of the United States and the expansionist plans of Zionism, at the cost of the independence of the Arab peoples and in disregard for their interests and rights.

An unbiased observer of the unfolding events will easily see that the reason for the aggravation of the situation in this region of strategic importance to the world lies in the U.S. policy of providing unlimited support to Israel and encouraging its aggression against the Arab people and its occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands.

It cannot be imagined that Israel could disregard the UN resolutions and world public opinion, that it could commit such foul crimes as it committed during its last attack against Lebanon, without the military aid and political support of the United States.

Just and lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved with the withdrawal of the Israeli and American troops, as well as the NATO bloc military contingents, from Lebanon and from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, and with the reestablishment of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the return of their land, self-determination and the creation of their independent state, under the direction of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people recognized by the United Nations and the international community....

The Yemeni Socialist Party, which is making a great effort to support the Palestinian revolution, the national unity of the Palestinian people and the PLO, voices its deep distress at the entire development of events which only serve the interests of the Israeli and American aggressors in eradicating the Palestinian problem and arranging the Middle East according to the American model, based on the Camp David accords and the Reagan Plan.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has previously alerted the world community to the dangers of the American military presence in the Persian Gulf region, the Arabian Peninsula and the Horn of Africa. We have pointed out the real objectives of the U.S. rapid interventional forces, and how their role is to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries and peoples of our region, to gain control of their wealth and to crush all those who oppose the hegemony of the United States.

We appeal to all the national liberation forces, to the socialist countries and to the forces for peace throughout the world to intensify the struggle and the solidarity to counter the aggressive policy of the NATO bloc. Clearly, the struggle must be conducted worldwide. The aggressive aims of the imperialists are not just a threat to a particular continent or region, but a threat to the security and peace of all the peoples of our planet.

In conclusion, comrades, may I express our thanks to the Portuguese Communist Party leadership, to Comrade Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal, for inviting our party to participate in the proceedings of this congress, and to voice the Yemeni Socialist Party's wish to promote good relations and cooperation with the PCP, which will serve our common objectives and interests in the struggle against imperialism, racism and reaction, based on the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

FMLN

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Excerpts from speech by Mario Aguinada Carranza, member of the United Revolutionary Directorate of the Farabundo Marti Front for the National Liberation of El Salvador (FMLN), to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Comrade delegates;

Dear friends:

On the occasion of the 10th congress of your party, please accept combative and revolutionary greetings from the militants, soldiers and leaders of the FMLN.

As Comrade Alvaro Cunhal stated in his report, the 10th PCP Congress is taking place at a particularly complex and difficult moment. The aggressive and provocative policy of the U.S. imperialists and their allies has heightened the danger of a world war and has led to the resurgence of oppression and intervention on every continent.

...In El Salvador, the United States is threatening an invasion with its own troops to defend the old military dictatorship, which is trembling before the

heroic combat of our people, led by the FMLN, allied with the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

The U.S. involvement has prolonged and intensified the conflict and made its solution more difficult. The loss of more than 40,000 lives is part of the price our people have had to pay for their decision to be free and to build a new future.

...Recently, to justify its reactionary policy and to cover up the internal disagreements in the present government of El Salvador, the U.S. Government called for presidential elections, in March 1984. These elections will not bring us closer to peace, but will intensify the war and the U.S. interference in El Salvador....

Comrades,

We are certain that you understand our struggle and support it, because we are part of the same contingent, fighting for peace, the people's welfare, justice and real democracy.

We share your happiness and applaud your accomplishments. We wish you success in the task of achieving a democratic government of national salvation, which will perpetuate and consolidate the principal economic and political conquests of 25 April.

Congolese Workers Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 12

[Excerpts from address by Marins Movambeng, Congolese minister of agriculture and member of the Congolese Workers Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] The 10th PCP Congress is a particularly happy occasion for us to convey to all the valiant militants of the PCP and to its illustrious leader, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, the friendly and militant greetings of the Congolese Workers Party Central Committee and its president, Comrade Denis Sassou Nguesso....

Dear comrades,

The militants of the Congolese revolution follow with great interest the struggle conducted by the PCP in defense of the interests of the labor class and all the Portuguese workers....

We take this opportunity to reaffirm our unconditional support for the struggle for world peace and disarmament. We condemn the deployment of the Pershing II missiles in Western Europe, because this decision, which caused the suspension of the strategic arms limitation negotiations in Geneva, contributed to the escalation of the arms race and aggravated the tensions which dangerously threaten international peace and security.

We support the peoples in struggle for their liberation, in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America, and particularly the struggle of the Angolan, Mozambican, Palestinian, Nicaraguan, Cuban and Grenadan peoples, current victims of the imperialist attacks.

Once again, we wish you all success in the proceedings of your congress. May you achieve great revolutionary victories in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of the April Revolution.

Finnish Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 13

[Excerpts from address by Sepo Toiviainen, member of the Political Commission of the Finnish Communist Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Dear comrades,

It is my great pleasure to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the Finnish Communist Party Central Committee.

Now more than ever, with the growing internationalization of all aspects of life, we communists must keep abreast of each other's struggles, to learn with each other and to cooperate. The number of international tasks which each party must undertake has grown immensely. Before now, we have fought against exploitation and oppression, and now we are also struggling for the survival of mankind.

(....)

One of the most significant aspects of recent years has been the rise of the antiwar movement, which unites millions of people in a multifaceted struggle for peace, against nuclear armament and especially against the deployment of the American Euromissiles. This struggle presents a new theoretical problem for us communists: the combination of the tasks of our class struggle with tasks that, by their nature, are generally democratic and humane. The prevention of war is not a revolutionary task, but war preparedness and militarism are true characteristics of imperialism and its policies. The militarism indicates that imperialism is really the final phase of capitalism, and the struggle against militarism is a struggle against the class nature of imperialism. Thus we Finnish communists see our tasks in the peace movement as twofold. On one hand, we must, always and everywhere, promote our anti-imperialist view. On the other hand we must constantly be prepared to demonstrate our loyalty and fidelity to the cause of peace.

When I left Helsinki, our parliament was surrounded by a chain of young people who demonstrated for 2 days and 2 nights against the Euromissiles, for a freeze on arms allocations in the Finnish state budget, for spending on housing and aid to development, and for a denuclearized zone in the Nordic countries. This was a continuation of the activities conducted during the United Nations Week for Disarmament, in October, when 220,000 of our 4.5 million inhabitants took to the streets in 106 cities and communities to demonstrate against the Euromissiles, for demilitarization and for a denuclearized Europe....

The growing aggressiveness of the U.S. administration and NATO has once again proved to the Finnish people the advantages, in a world of growing tension, of the friendly relations resulting from the treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union. They mean security, based on peaceful coexistence, and jobs, through extensive economic cooperation, and they reduce the possibility of anti-Soviet and anticommunist attacks.

U.S. Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 13

[Excerpts from address by Simon W. Gerson, member of the Central Committee and chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Comrades.

It is a great honor to attend the 10th congress of the heroic Portuguese Communist Party and to convey the warm and fraternal greetings of the Communist Party of the United States of America, led by comrades Henry Winston and Gus Hall.

Acting, as the saying goes, "in the belly of the beast," our party is well aware that North American imperialism is embarked on a deadly path leading to a nuclear confrontation, in its insane attempt to reestablish world hegemony. North American imperialism feels its main obstacle is the community of socialist nations, primarily the Soviet Union, which President Reagan labels the "devil's empire."

Anti-Sovietism is the moving force in the Reagan foreign policy. This is why Reagan is deploying first strike offensive missiles, the Pershing II and Cruise missiles, which could reach Moscow 6 minutes after they are fired. Anti-Sovietism was the pretext for invading the small island of Grenada and for openly announcing that the United States reserves the right to invade any country, anywhere in the world, if it is felt that America's "vital interests" are threatened.

Anti-Sovietism provides the pretext for North American imperialism to finance the counterrevolution in progressive Nicaragua; to establish a military presence in Lebanon; to form a "strategic alliance" with its client state, Israel; and to propose a military budget of \$250 billion, which is the highest peace-time military budget in the history of the United States.

Pursuing this policy, the U.S. Government is seeking new military bases. It has renewed the agreement for the strategic air base at Lajes, in the Azores, and is now talking about military installations on mainland Portugal, holding out a lure of \$145 million in aid for the coming year.

(....)

But there is another side to the coin.

The labor class is resisting. The unemployed are beginning to organize. The farmers are resisting the attempts to evict them from their farms.

Above all, there is a growing sentiment for peace. Despite the propaganda campaigns orchestrated by Washington, the polls show that 78 percent of the population is demanding peace and an end to the arms race. More and more people are questioning the Reagan administration's reasons for rejecting the peace proposals advanced by the Soviet Union, and the reasons for its rejection of the Soviet proposals for an agreement on first strikes and a nuclear freeze.

In referenda, the nuclear freeze proposal won in almost every community in which it was presented. In fact, there is a clear majority in our country in favor of peace.

All eyes are turned on the 1984 elections, in which the primary task is to reverse the path of nuclear confrontation and war which Reagan has adopted, against the people's living conditions.

Organized labor (AFL-CIO) is already against him, as are the blacks, the Hispanics and women's organizations.

The problem is to unite these forces. Meanwhile, Reagan's major political opposition, the Democratic Party, with some worthy exceptions, is not offering an alternative plan that inspires any confidence.

Some Democratic Party politicians challenge the basic tenets of the Reagan ideology: anticommunism and the dissemination of the big lie about the alleged "Soviet menace."

But the struggle of the masses and the peace movements can, we feel, change the situation. Our party has urged the formation of an anti-Reagan front, taking in all the people, to expel him from the White House, along with all his disciples in the Congress.

To aid in the development of such a movement, our party will present a presidential candidate for the 1984 elections who will denounce Reagan's war policies and economic model. The campaign will also concentrate on the struggle for peace, employment and equality. Our party will directly challenge the anticommunism and anti-Sovietism of the Reagan administration and will denounce the big lie.

In so doing, our party will be doing a truly patriotic duty--for the peace and welfare of our people and for world peace. In making this effort, we know that we have your best wishes for success and the solidarity of the working classes and liberation movements throughout the world.

Brazilian Communist Party

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 5 Jan 84 Supplement p 13

[Excerpts from address by Gicondo Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party, to the 10th PCP Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades,

I bring you the fraternal greeting of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee and its militants. We are honored by the privilege of sharing with you in this historic moment of your 10th congress.

The Brazilian communists have looked with great interest on the energy, determination and wisdom with which you have conducted the struggle in defense of the conquests of the labor class and the Portuguese people.

The alternative you propose is your response to the policy of capitalist, latifundist and imperialist recovery. It is an effective way out of the crisis and the best proof that national problems, no matter how serious, can be solved.

Your enthusiasm, the patriotism and proletarian internationalism expressed so feelingly in this arena, moves us and encourages us to look upon our tasks back home with greater hopes of success.

There are countless economic and social indicators figuring in the picture of the dramatic Brazilian crisis, undoubtedly the deepest crisis in the entire history of our republic. The foreign debt has reached the unbelievable height of \$100 billion. Concurrently, the domestic debt, public and private, is one of the highest in the world. The idle industrial capacity, especially in the capital goods sector, is escalating. I need only note that since 1981 the real rate of growth of the GDI has been negative. The alarming levels of unemployment and underemployment, added to the rising curve of bankruptcies and receiverships, give a precise indication that we are no longer in a recession; all the indicators suggest that the country is on the brink of a real depression.

Even taking into account the crisis of the capitalist system (...) we understand that the primary cause of the current Brazilian crisis is the specific socio-political order determined by the regime that emerged in 1964.

In light of the situation, like you, we are proposing a democratic alternative in our land which will free our country from an induced recession which only serves the interests of the great international bankers, through the IMF.

On the other hand, the Brazilian and Portuguese people are living in a world in which a new situation has been created.

Reagan is perpetrating intervention and aggression against other peoples and countries; he has initiated a new phase in the arms race.

Public opinion must be mobilized. Such events as your 10th congress are an expression of the will to further the social progress and the peace of the Portuguese people. It constitutes real support for the struggle of all peoples, especially those of the USSR and the socialist countries, against war.

CUNHAL ANSWERS '10 CRUCIAL QUESTIONS' OF 10TH PCP CONGRESS

Lisbon AVANTE in Portuguese 29 Dec 83 pp 4-5

[Text] Comrades:

Our party's 10th Congress has taken place.

It was a great, magnificent congress; great and magnificent because of the number of delegates and guests, because of the problems discussed, because of the depth of the analyses, the proposals, the reports and the speeches; because of the clear evidence of the link between everything stated at it and our people's most deepseated interests and aspirations; because of the seriousness of the opinions, and the truthfulness of everything that was said; because of the immense preparatory effort in advance; because of the most extensive, democratic debate preceding the congress, to which the congress attested; because of the affirmation of our party's organic strength, capacity for achievement and unparalleled militancy; because of the unity, without gaps, established in the internal democratic life, with respect to opinions, participation in decisions and action, among the entire wonderful party group; because of the revolutionary joy and enthusiasm; because of the determination to struggle; and because of the unshakeable confidence in the future of the party, of Portuguese democracy and of the Portuguese fatherland.

And also, finally, because of the participation of over 60 delegations from fraternal parties and other revolutionary and progressive parties and forces which have brought us their precious support and solidarity, and which have had occasion to confirm, with their own eyes and ears, that they can, for their part, count on the fraternal support and solidarity of the Portuguese Communists.

The Ninth Congress was held in Barreiro; and the Seventh (Special) and Eighth Congresses took place in Lisbon.

I believe that we all feel a deep gratification at the holding of the 10th Congress in Porto.

No one is unaware of the great political significance of this event.

The holding of the congress in Porto confirms not only the notable progress of the party and of its influence in the north, but also the PCP's nature as a great national party, a party which sooner or later will be called upon to contribute on the government level to the solution of the national problems, and to achieve a policy that will ensure an improvement in the people's living conditions, economic development, social and cultural progress, the liberties and rights of the citizens and national independence and peace.

It is unquestionable that our 10th Congress was a major national event.

Then how does one explain the fact that the state news media organs (specifically RTP [Portuguese Radio-Television System], RDP [Portuguese Radio Broadcasting System] and certain newspapers) have in fact failed to cover the congress and, on the contrary, have made tendentious, false and slanderous references to the congress confirming the moral degradation of the reactionary propaganda?

Why have they remained silent about the work of our 10th Congress?

After all, the reason is quite simple.

They have remained silent because, if they provided objective reporting on the congress, if the Portuguese people could have truly known what happened, what was said, what was proposed and what was evident at our 10th Congress, thousands upon thousands of persons who still have reservations about the PCP would conclude:

Here is the party that Portugal needs. Here is the party capable of defending the interests of the people and the country, and capable of making Portugal emerge from the crisis and solve the major national problems.

The congress materials (the political resolution and the speeches) contain an exhaustive analysis of the Portuguese economic, social and political situation and its progress, a demonstration of the disastrous consequences of the policy of capitalist recovery, a description of the major program lines of an alternative policy, an indication of the course of action and prospects for attaining it, a lengthy explanation of the tasks that are present in the current situation and also extensive treatment of the questions relating to the party's reinforcement.

Assigned to give at this rally a report on the conclusions from the 10th Congress, I have taken the liberty, instead of repeating the text of the documents, necessarily in summarized fashion, of reporting on the conclusions from the congress in a different way: by asking crucial questions posed by the present situation and reporting on the response that the 10th Congress gave to them.

In What Direction Has the International Situation Evolved?

In what direction has the international situation evolved, and what is the significance and the dangers of the present period?

The 10th Congress examined the international issues based upon a central idea resulting from a careful analysis.

During recent decades the world's evolution has irrefutably shown that the world is heading toward the liberation of the workers and of peoples.

In recent decades imperialism has suffered irreversible historical defeats.

However, in an irregular process (with great victories, but also with mistakes and defeats), human progress has shown considerable advancement, with the construction of socialism, the overthrow of the colonial system, the conquest of national independence by many dozens of countries and the workers' increased intervention in all social life.

It was on the basis of this central idea that the 10th Congress considered the exacerbation of the International situation.

This exacerbation is a direct result of a desperate attempt by the imperialists (specifically, the American imperialists) to stop the course of history and, if possible, turn it backward.

The exacerbation of the international situation is due basically to the American imperialist offensive against the historic conquests of the workers' and peoples' liberation movement.

There is the economic and financial offensive. There is the interference, aggression and war. There is Grenada, Southern Africa, the Middle East and South Korea. And now there is the attempt to destroy the strategic balance existing between imperialism and the socialist community.

The installation of the new American missiles in Europe represents a danger, and a serious danger, to world peace. The struggle for peace has become a central task, which cannot be dissociated or separated from the struggle of the workers and peoples for democracy, liberty, social progress and socialism.

Comrades and friends, one may ask: Is there or is there not a force to restrain imperialism? Our congress answered positively: that there are in the world sufficient forces to restrain imperialism. The socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movement, the progressive forces, and the democratic and peaceful forces throughout the entire world are in a position, if united, to head off imperialism, to preserve peace and to ensure the continuation of mankind's progressive evolution.

The struggle for peace is under way in Portugal as well, in two directions: one, with the general objectives common to all peoples, specifically, the

European peoples, against the installation of the missiles, against the acts of aggression, against the arms race, for tranquillity and for a group of other objectives which are common to the peoples of Portugal, Spain, France and other European peoples, and even all people in the world. Another direction: we are struggling to prevent Portuguese foreign policy from submission to American imperialism, so that, finally, with the defeat of this government and the formation of a democratic government, Portugal may resist the pressure from American imperialism, resist the conversion of our territory into a base for aggression and have in the international arena a policy of peace, cooperation and friendship with all peoples of the world.

Comrades, these, in brief, are the fundamental responses given by our congress regarding the international situation and its exacerbation.

What Is the Future of Democratic Portugal? Can Democratic Portugal Be Constructed Without Consolidating and Continuing the Conquests of April?

What is the future of democratic Portugal? Can democratic Portugal be constructed without consolidating and continuing the conquests of April?

This is a crucial question to enable us to assess the deepest roots of the social and political struggle that is being waged in our country, to enable us to assess the nature, significance, scope and consequences of the PS [Socialist Party]-PSD [Social Democratic Party] policy and to enable us to define a national policy, the tasks that are posed for our party and our people, and the prospects for the evolution of the situation.

The 10th Congress dealt with these questions in depth.

Two fundamental conclusions are to be drawn from the 10th Congress.

The first: The democratic regime resulting from the revolution did not consist merely of a political system wherein the organs of government result from elections, but also of an economic organization (established in the Constitution) essential aspects of which are the elimination of the monopolies of financial capital and of large estates, the nationalization of the banks and of the basic sectors of the Portuguese economy, agrarian reform, recognition of the vital rights of the workers, and recognition of the rights of small and medium-sized farmers, specifically, rights of tenants and people to idle lands: aspects as essential to Portuguese democracy as those relating to democratic liberties and elections to the organs of sovereignty and the local government.

The second conclusion (which, moreover, results from the first): The defense and continuity of the democratic regime requires, along with the staunch, intransigent defense of the political democracy, a staunch, intransigent defense of all the other great conquests of the revolution.

The 10th Congress proved, with an impressive mass of facts, that during the past 8 years, the unconstitutional, illegal, arbitrary, violent and criminal

offensives against the workers' rights, against the nationalizations and against agrarian reform have been systematically accompanied by offensives against political democracy; attempts to convert the elections into a farce; offenses against and limits on liberties; implementation of the major mass media (specifically, television) in the manner of 24 April; and the use of violence, repression, shooting, beating and even assassination, in an attempt to curb and suppress our people's just, heroic resistance and struggle.

The experience of the past 8 years has already proven that, in the context of Portuguese democracy, with the people exercising the liberties and rights that the Constitution has conferred upon them, the reactionary forces have managed to advance, have managed to do harm and have managed to undermine the democratic conquests, but have not as yet managed to eliminate them.

They have turned over to big capital and to the large estate-holders business firms and sectors of business firms, ships, aircraft, land, and hundreds of millions of contos, and they have sought to deal a fatal blow to the nationalizations and agrarian reform; but they have not as yet managed to reprivatize a single business firm that has been directly nationalized. They have not managed to eliminate agrarian reform, and today there are still 350 collective units tilling over half a million hectares of land. They have not managed to make the workers yield to the capitulation of a social pact.

For this reason, the 10th Congress concluded that the struggle is continuing and will continue in the defense of the revolution's great conquests; a struggle which is an integral part of the struggle for the defense of the political democracy.

It is recognizing and ensuring the rights of the workers and of all working classes and strata; it is impeding the restoration of the monopolies, and dynamizing the nationalized sectors and business firms; it is impeding the restoration of the large estates; and it is supporting (or, as the workers of Alentejo and Ribatejo say, "letting them work") the UCPs/Cooperatives which can ensure the free, democratic and independent future of Portugal.

What Is the Role, Significance, Goals and Mission of the PS/PSD Government in the Nation's Life?

What is the role, significance, goals and mission of the PS/PSD government in the nation's life?

The PS/PSD government is pursuing the "AD" [Democratic Alliance] policy in all its essential aspects.

The prime goals are the same: elimination of the revolution's conquests, restoration of the monopolies, restoration of the large estates and restoration of the power of the great economic forces linked with foreign imperialism.

And there are the same major lines of action: There is the worsening of living conditions and exploitation of the workers; there are price increases;

there are delayed wages; there are dismissals, with lay-offs and the deduction of the 13th month; there are measures and more measures to doom the workers to poverty, hunger and difficulties, so that they may again enrich the grand lords who dominated us, exploited us and tyrannized us during 48 years of fascism. There are constant measures to worsen the situation of all the working sectors; and, today, a reorganization and streamlining of human resources in public administration was even announced; proving that the lay-offs are starting to go into effect and the mass dismissals from the government's projects are already beginning. There is housing, with the announcement of raises in house rents; there is the health and education which are becoming increasingly deteriorated. There is the worsening of the exploitation of peasants and other strata of the working population.

Here at this rally we shall not find many small and medium-sized farmers, but we in Lisbon, as well, we workers of Lisbon and working class of Lisbon, are not forgetting for a single moment that the peasants are our allies, the peasants are a social force siding with the conquests of April and that, during recent years, the peasants have had more and more participation on the side of the working class, so that the reactionary governments may be finally defeated and so that there may be a democratic policy in Portugal.

There is also the offensive against the nationalizations reflected on the part of this government by the new law on sectors, with the final attainment, by the grande-bourgeoisie, big capital and the reactionaries, with the PS government and with the PS secretary-general as prime minister, of what had not been attained earlier with the reactionary governments. It has been clearly shown that Dr Mario Soares, secretary-general of the Socialist Party, serves big capital with as much effectiveness as the members of the right did, or with even more. The right-wingers had no chance to achieve this measure without a coalition with Mario Soares, but Mario Soares, after having saved AD at the time of its defeat, made a coalition with it, and is going ahead with the law on sectors, opening the banks and other basic sectors of our economy for the creation of private business firms.

There is also the offensive against agrarian reform, which is continuing with the use of the GNR [Republican National Guard].

There is also the offensive against liberties, with the manipulation of the news media, with intelligence services, with reinforcement of the special repressive corps and with the repression, as this government has now shown, in the case of Lisnave, Marinha Grande, the Ribatejo field hands and the agrarian reform workers. There are new black marks of shame and crime evinced by this PS/PSD government.

And later, there has also been a policy of submission to American imperialism, a policy of subservience and a policy of capitulation, demonstrated by what is known about the agreement on Lajes in which, according to rumors repeated by the press, while the military participating in the negotiations defended Portuguese interests, the government ministers and representatives participating therein were always ready to make more and more concessions to the

Americans. The press has already repeated this, and it would be a good thing if there were an explanation as to whether, in fact, this is what happened.

There is also that ambition to join the EEC as a political weapon, a long-standing priority among the priorities of the Socialist Party secretary-general and other right-wing leaders who, during the most recent phase, have been begging the EEC countries for admission, not so that it would materialize, but rather to have that political weapon here inside Portugal, in order to expedite the struggle to do away with the nationalizations and agrarian reform. At a time when they finally declared the doors open, that was the time when they closed the doors in their faces. In the last analysis, this confirms what the Communist Party has always said about Portugal's potential entry into the EEC.

Also with regard to the military concessions to the United States, we are deeply disturbed by what the negotiations planned on the use of our continent's territory by the U.S. Armed Forces might mean. We here insist: We shall struggle against the expansion of Portugal's military obligations to NATO; we shall struggle to prevent the bases on our territory, specifically, on the continent, from being used by the U.S. rapid intervention force, or for any acts of aggression. We shall struggle against the installation of atomic weapons in our territory. We shall struggle against the presence of U.S. atomic submarines with nuclear payloads in the port of Lisbon.

The 10th Congress drew some major conclusions from these facts.

First, the government (with M. Soares) has again saved the reactionary forces at the very moment of their defeat.

Second, Mario Soares, as prime minister, has assumed the leadership of the right and of a reactionary coalition, to pursue the "AD" policy which the people brought down.

Third, the PS/PSD government is another tool of the reactionary offensive. It is part of the counterrevolutionary process that is under way against the Portugal of April.

To struggle against this government, for its ouster and for a democratic alternative is to struggle to halt the counterrevolution and to preserve the democratic regime and national independence.

What Are the Causes of the Crisis That Is Leading the Country to Disaster?

What are the causes of the crisis that is leading the country to disaster?

The government and the forces comprising it, as well as its news media organs, stress to a great extent that the fundamental cause is the world crisis, the world economic crisis. That world crisis has unquestionably had effects on the Portuguese economy but, in our view, it is not the essential cause of the Portuguese crisis, which differs in several respects from the crisis that exists in the other countries. They also claim that it was the change of

the structures, and that the blame for the crisis lies with the nationalizations and agrarian reform or, as some still insist, it was the "Goncalvism" of 1975.

The 10th Congress answered the question differently. It replied that the fundamental cause of the deepseated crisis that Portugal is undergoing is the policy of capitalist, large estate-holding and imperialist recovery.

The offensives to destroy the revolution's conquests have been offensives to destroy the national economy.

What is happening to the nationalized business firms as a result of the joint action of the governments and government-appointed administrators to serve the restoration of the monopolies?

The 10th Congress submitted very extensive documentation of the facts which has made the conclusion indisputable.

There is the decline in assets and holdings. There is the sale for bankruptcy and turnover of business firms, assets and stock shares. There is the squandering of investments. There is the under-utilization of capacity. There is the sell-out of profitable sectors. There is the waste of funds. There is the capital depletion. There is the halting of investments. There is the financial asphyxiation. There is the transfer of surplus value abroad. There is the abandonment of the major national projects.

There is, in short, a criminal endeavor to destroy basic sectors of the economy which, when dynamized, were equipped to make a decisive contribution to the nation's economic recovery and which, when affected in this way, have become an element in the crisis.

And what about agrarian reform? The 10th Congress also submitted overwhelming documentation on the disastrous results of the offensive for the recovery of large estate-holding.

There is the abandonment by the large estate-holders of hundreds of thousands of hectares which the workers had cultivated. There is the destruction of harvests, crops, dams and marshes, dairy farms and other property improvements, while at the same time eliminating 50,000 jobs.

The PS/PSD government, like the previous governments (the 10th Congress concluded on the basis of a thorough economic analysis) is engaged in a genuine crusade for forced despoilment and centralization, a real operation to loot means of production, land and financial resources so that, with them, big capital can quickly accumulate for itself huge amounts of capital that it would never succeed in accumulating through regular economic activities.

Industry, agriculture, transportation, commerce and services: the entire Portuguese economy, is suffering from the effects of this policy.

There is the recession; there is the disorganization; there is the bankruptcy; there is the failure; there is the decline in the domestic market; there is the brutal worsening of the people's living conditions; there is the mass unemployment; there is the increase in parasitic activities, large-scale racketeering and corruption, consuming a large portion of the national resources. And, consequently, there are the foreign loans, and more and more foreign loans contracted with the IMF on terms of submission and national capitulation, so many and at such high interest rates that they are strangling our economy. There is the path to national failure and bankruptcy.

This policy of capitalist recovery is the essential cause of the crisis. And hence the first condition for emerging from the crisis (the 10th Congress stressed) is to completely abandon this policy, to uphold the changes in our economy made by the revolution and, finally, to undertake a democratic, national policy that will pursue the path of April.

Is the PS/PSD's Government's Policy Inevitable, or Is There Another Policy Capable of Extricating the Country From the Crisis and Solving the National Problems?

Is the PS/PSD government's policy inevitable, or is there another policy capable of extricating the country from the crisis and solving the national problems?

The 10th Congress claimed that there is an alternative policy, and described the general features of that policy. Five fundamental goals were defined by the 10th Congress:

1. Stability, legality and democratic order.
2. Emergence from the crisis and economic recovery aimed at development.
3. An improvement of the Portuguese peoples material and cultural living conditions.
4. A guarantee of the citizens' liberties and rights.
5. The country's unity, national independence, security and peace.

The 10th Congress amply developed the program features of an alternative policy:

It stressed as general guiding principles:

Mobilization of the country's resources, installed capacity, productive energies and potential, aimed at raising industrial and agricultural production and the efficiency of services;

Proper management and planning of the resources;

Expansion of the domestic market through a policy of development and improvement of the people's living conditions.

In connection with these principles, the 10th Congress developed extensively the bases and concrete measures for the financial policy, the fiscal policy, the credit policy, the industrial policy, the agrarian policy, the fishing policy, the policy on prices, wages and employment, the social policy, the policy on health and housing, social security and environment, the policy on education, scientific and technical research and culture, and a national, patriotic, foreign policy.

There can be found in the documents from our congress the development of these major program features. This is a proposal made to the country, and we are sure that the Portuguese people, with a real understanding of the proposals made by the Communist Party, cannot fail to see in them a reflection of their most deepseated interests, their most deepseated aspirations and their own political and social goals. We are profoundly certain that if, in this battle, we not only expose the government's policy, but also manage to show what our goals really are, and what the policy we propose is, we shall win over increasing numbers of Portuguese men and women to the policy of the Portuguese Communist Party, and to the alternative which the Portuguese Communist Party proposes.

Is the PS/PSD Government Equipped to Last 4 Years?

Is the PS/PSD government equipped to last 4 years?

(Shouting from the audience: "No!")

Comrades, it is obvious that your response is the response given by the Congress. But, if I may, I shall state very briefly the reasons that the Congress regarded as the main ones for which this government is not equipped to last 4 years.

One is because it has not resolved anything; it is worsening all the national problems.

Another is because there are internal contradictions between the two parties, between the leadership of PSD and PS and the members of those parties, and between these parties and their base of political, social and electoral support. Another reason is that the base of support of these parties is being increasingly diminished. At present, the base of social, political and electoral support of PS and PSD (we have no doubt) is incomparably more limited and smaller than it was at the time of the last elections. The policy pursued by this government has caused a deep dissatisfaction among large groups of the population and extensive sectors, even those which, during the last elections allowed themselves to be deceived and even voted for PSD and PS; but which now see, see clearly, what this policy represents, because it affects their fundamental interests, it affects their employment, it affects their bread, it affects the welfare of their children, it affects their health, it affects the prices of their house rent, and not only in the case of the workers, because the farmers, the small and medium-sized businessmen and manufacturers, the intellectuals and technical cadres and the most underprivileged strata of the population, all of them can see, from their own experience, what the policy of this government represents. The base of support for this

government is limited, and it will be limited more and more, so that the time will come when this government will have to seek help from that base of support and will be left hanging in the air; because it will no longer have support for withstanding, it will no longer have support to sustain it.

Another reason also given by the 10th Congress for this prediction of its is the defiance of the institutions by this government. It is taking such a great chance, such a great one, that it defies everything.

The first thing done by those who claimed that, with the revision of the Constitution, they would reinforce the parliamentary element in the Portuguese democratic regime, when they were established in the government, was to deprive the Assembly of the Republic of its authority, requesting the Assembly of the Republic, through its submissive majority of deputies, to give legislative authorization allowing the government to legislate in an area that was in the exclusive jurisdiction of the Assembly of the Republic.

It has also defied the presidency of the republic, with the continuation of a guerrilla war, aimed, of course, at leading either to the dismissal of the president of the republic or to the reduction of his role in national policy; because it sees that, apart from a certain proximity that it may have to PS and PSD in the political and social concepts of the president of the republic, the latter is, in fact, not a mere plaything created by the parties that are in the government and, since he is not its tool, it is continuing its guerrilla war, possibly to facilitate an easier path for Dr Mario Soares to Belem in the future presidential elections.

They are also defying the democratic local government, and in the Assembly of the Republic they have just altered, modified and repealed the essential part of the Law on Local Finances (which they always refused to comply with), through the General State Budget. This is unconstitutional. The General State Budget is obliged to adhere to the terms of the laws in effect. They will not cease to raise up against it not only the APU [United People's Alliance] local governments, but, we are certain, many, many other local governments as well, many, many other municipal chambers, and many, many other community boards which realize that they cannot run the local governments because they lack essential resources.

The government is also defying the courts. There are over 200 judgments from the Supreme Administrative Court in favor of the agrarian reform workers which revoked decisions to turn over land to the agrarians. The government should have implemented those judgments, but thus far it has not implemented a single one.

It is defying the courts, it is defying the local government, it is defying the assembly, it is defying the president of the republic; and it is also defying the Armed Forces. Quite recent incidents proved such arrogance on the part of the government that, at a given time, it was clear that there would be incited against it not just a part, this or that part, of the Armed Forces, but rather the military institution. And, comrades, we have an idea

that this arrogance was so great, and that this conflict was so great, that perhaps not all of us perceived what this conflict (which arose because of the incompetence, arrogance and ambition of the government, its defense minister and the prime minister) could have contributed to hasten the government's downfall. We are sure that situations will arise wherein the factors will combine to prevent this government from lasting the 4 years. For all these reasons, our congress was of the opinion that this government is not a government that will last long. But there is another fundamental reason. In addition to the ones I have just mentioned (a fundamental reason given by the congress to claim that this government will not last the 4 years), that fundamental reason is our people's struggle. The struggle of the masses continues to be the deciding factor in the national policy, and it will lead to the defeat of this government, just as it led to the defeat of the AD government.

Comrades, we are well aware of what the fate has been of the consecutive governments which adopted as a main goal of their policy the elimination of the revolution's conquests and the restoration of the monopolies and large estates. It was the PS government alone, it was the PS/CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] government, it was the AD government; and all those governments ended up falling. This is not just a matter of facts; it is a matter of a lesson. Any government that wants to destroy the Portugal of April is doomed to failure. The AD government fell; the PS/PSD government will fall too.

Will There Be Enough Strength for An Alternative to Be Attained?

Will there be enough strength for an alternative to be attained?

We have already observed the government's weaknesses.

Most of all, what has the evolution of the national situation shown?

1. The people have had enough strength to defend their rights and the conquests of April, step by step.

The 10th Congress dealt at length with the extraordinary, heroic struggle of the Portuguese people to defend the democratic conquests.

The years that elapsed since the Ninth Congress have been marked by a considerable heightening of the workers and people's democratic struggle.

Seldom (almost never) in the history of the Portuguese workers' movement has there been such a vast, intense, wave of struggles.

And, accompanying the working class, the peasants went into action as a national force; and women, youth, intellectuals, the intermediate classes and strata, and the most underprivileged bravely intervened in the economic, social and political battles to defend the vital interests of the people and the conquests of the revolution.

There have been thousands upon thousands of struggles, gatherings, demonstrations and strikes, with emphasis on the two major general strikes in 1982; struggles often repressed by violence, struggles in which our people's political consciousness, clarity of goals, determination to struggle, courage and heroism were heightened considerably.

The 10th Congress also stressed that, along with the masses' struggles, major electoral battles were waged, parliamentary action was taken, an extraordinary effort was made in the local governments, there was zealous endeavor in the nationalized business firms, and in agrarian reform and on the cultural front, to ensure the defense of the great democratic conquests.

And, despite the raging counterrevolutionary offensives, if up until now not a single one of the directly nationalized business firms has been reprivatized, if there are 350 UCPs/Cooperatives in activity, fighting and working, with 500,000 hectares of land, and if the Portuguese people are still exercising liberties and rights conquered by April, this is due basically to their own struggle.

2. The people and the institutions have had enough strength to defeat consecutive attempts at counterrevolutionary coups.

Sometimes we forget this fact: Have the reactionaries advanced? They have; they have dealt serious blows to the workers' rights, to our people's welfare and to the revolution's conquests. They have advanced. But the major plans that they started and with which they advanced toward the elimination of the democratic regime, those plans have been defeated. They have been defeated, not to mention before 25 November, not to mention the first defeats of the reactionaries, the so-called Palma Carlos coup, 28 September and 11 March; not to mention the defeat that they suffered after 25 November with the promulgation of the Constitution of the Republic on 2 April 1976, a promulgation which was threatened by the reactionary conspiracy attempting to prevent the president of the republic from promulgating the Constitution, which (it is a good idea to recall this again) was promulgated in the assembly itself, because the president of the republic, going to the assembly, signed it right there, and promulgated it right there, so that there would no longer be any possibility of carrying out an entire conspiratorial plan that was being developed to have General Costa Gomes dismissed before the Constitution was promulgated, so that another president who would not promulgate the Constitution of 1976 would take office.

Later there was the plan directed and devised by Sa Carneiro, the plan developed in 1980; and we know that this plan was supposed to culminate in Soares Carneiro's election to the presidency of the republic. Announcing measures opposed to democracy, retaining the presidency of the republic and the government, with a majority in the assembly, and taking over the government, they would be in a position to rapidly change the situation in the Armed Forces, so as to use them later against our people. Comrades, we also know that there were many many workers, many democrats and many Communists who swallowed it; but the reactionaries did not succeed, and we have no reason not to believe that our

position was correct , in defeating General Soares Carneiro and contributing to the defense of democracy at that crucial time. Later, in 1981-82, there was the revision of the Constitution, done with the cooperation of Mario Soares and his group; a revision of the Constitution which at first was more ambitious, aimed at virtually eliminating the entire Constitution, including the citizens' liberties and rights, and including the economic organization achieved by the April revolution, but which later was confined to the transformation of the political power. There was the elimination of the Council of the Revolution, and there was the transfer of the essential powers of the president of the republic in the military realm, and of the Council of the Revolution to the government, specifically, to the defense minister. We all remember that, at that time, the defense minister was Freitas do Amaral; it was he who made a national defense plan; it was he who directed that entire plan aimed at concentrating the military authority in his hands and in the hands of the government. It was again the same plan for an attack on the Armed Forces; it was the same plan for using the Armed Forces; it was the same plan to make use of the Armed Forces, so as later to implement a right wing policy and to impose on our people an antidemocratic regime, with the elimination of rights and liberties, and the elimination of the April conquests.

But our people struggled as well, confident of victory, and for over a year we heard in that struggle the demand "AD out into the street," and AD was forced out into the street as a result of our people's struggle. There was the dismissal of the Balsemao/Freitas do Amaral government; there was the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic in which they had a majority; and there was the holding of early elections. There was a major defeat which our people inflicted upon the reactionaries.

Comrades, it is fitting to stress that AD was forced into the street while it had the majority in the Assembly of the Republic. They had the majority of deputies, and the terms of those deputies had not ended. They still had 2 more years to go. We can claim that, officially, there was a majority in the Assembly of the Republic which could have provided the backing for the formation of a new AD government. They certainly made claims, they certainly strove, they certainly stated that the government had fallen but that the majority in the assembly had not fallen; but they did not succeed. They went down, and down hard. The Portuguese people brought them down, and the institutions also brought them down.

AD had a majority in the assembly, and thought that this majority in the assembly would give it protection for all the crimes. The PS/PSD government now claims to have the "larger majority," but that "larger majority" is not enough either to guarantee that it will remain in the government for long.

What "larger majority" is that? That widely publicized "larger majority" is now a little more than the majority of the deputies in the Assembly of the Republic.

Because that majority of PS/PSD deputies does not have a social base of majority support.

The 10th Congress accurately described the arrangement of the social forces based upon their class interests.

What is the government's base of social support?

Objectively (the 10th Congress concluded), the PS/PSD government's base of social support consists of: big capital, the large property owners, the rich landlords, the large leasers, the large warehouse owners and speculating middlemen, the aforementioned high-ranking officials, some manufacturers and business owners, and a large portion of those in the so-called liberal professions and technical cadres.

All this combined is a small fraction of the Portuguese population.

And what is the base of support for a democratic alternative?

Objectively (the 10th Congress concluded), the base of support for a democratic alternative consists of: the workers; the small and medium-sized farmers, merchants and manufacturers; the intellectuals and a large portion of the technical cadres; and the most underprivileged strata of the population.

The social base of support for the government's policy is very limited.

The social base of support for a democratic alternative is comprised of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese population.

It is a fact that a considerable number of those hard hit by the PS/PSD government's policy who are objectively interested in a democratic alternative voted for PS or PSD.

But it is likewise a fact that thousands upon thousands of those who voted for PS and PSD are now rising up against the policy imposed on the people by the government of the parties for which they voted.

We here salute all those who are participating in the resistance and the struggle against the policy of the PS/PSD government, regardless of the party to which they belong or for which they voted.

The criterion for defining the positions of Portuguese men and women at the present time is not so much the party for which they have voted, but rather the real position that they take toward the PS/PSD government's measures, toward the dismissals, toward the delayed wages, toward the lay-offs, toward the increase in prices of feed, fertilizer and other factors of production for the peasants, toward the offensive against agrarian reform and toward all the other offensives of the PS-PSD government against democracy and its conquests.

The 10th Congress concluded that the government has a social area of support that is remarkably smaller than the PS and PSD electorate in the last elections.

And a democratic alternative has a social area of support that is far more extensive than the PCP and APU electorate during the last elections.

This arrangement of social forces is reflected in participation in the struggle against the PS/PSD government policy by not only the workers, but also by increasingly larger sectors from all anti-monopolistic classes and strata.

Each has its own dynamics, but all these struggles converge on a common goal, and that common goal no longer has merely an economic nature, but also a political purpose. That inevitable goal of these great movements of struggle that are forming with concrete goals is the ouster of the PS/PSD government and the creation of a democratic government that will really solve the problems of all those classes and strata of the population; a democratic government that will succeed in solving the major national problems in the context of democracy and national independence.

There is, in fact, at present, a vast, powerful, social force moving, with a real influence on the political situation.

On the day when this powerful social front becomes a political front, there will be no forces capable of impeding a real democratic alternative.

And what about the political area?

Can the balance of forces of the parties be assessed on the basis of their alliances and coalitions?

No, comrades.

As for PS and PSD, their real influence is considerably smaller than their electorate in the last elections.

As for PCP, it may be said that our influence extends far beyond the bounds of our electorate.

This situation leads us to another question to which the 10th Congress replied.

When the PS/PSD Government Falls, Whether Because It is Ousted or Because It is Ousted Since Its Position Is Untenable, What Government Can Be Formed?

When the PS/PSD government falls, whether because it is ousted or because it is ousted since its position is untenable, what government can be formed?

Many now believe that there is an alternative policy; that the party's policy, proposed by the party, responds to our people's fundamental interests and is capable of solving the major national problems is believed by many Portuguese, besides the Communists and our voters. But an alterantive policy is one thing, and the political alternative, that is, the possibility of forming a government which will apply the policy that we propose, is something else. And this is

a question that people are asking. Many are saying: The policy that the Communist Party proposes is very just, but how can it be accomplished? How can a government be formed when there are in the assembly three parties which have four fifths of the deputies, and in this battle the Portuguese Communist Party has only 40 deputies?

We do not gage strength by the number of deputies. The Portuguese experience has already shown that changes in the political situation do not take place only by counting the number of deputies and the strength of the deputies, and the statements made by the deputies in the assembly.

As the 10th Congress concluded (in developing the planks already discussed previously), this situation proves the existence of an extremely large social area that is politically a vacuum; in other words, there are hundreds of thousands of Portuguese people who do not recognize themselves as being in any of the existing parties. Of course, we are doing everything possible to win over part of these Portuguese people who at one time believed that PSD, and PS, or CDS could solve their problems, but who now see that this is not so. And we have won over many, and will continue winning them over. But we are realistic, and we do not see any possibility, over the short term, of all those hundreds of thousands of Portuguese people becoming disillusioned with the government's policy and becoming dissociated from the parties that comprise it, immediately coming over to our side. By the same token, we think that there is a vast social area at present which is politically void, of Portuguese who do not recognize themselves in any party and who would be mature enough to accept the creation of new parties responding to their fundamental interests and upholding a policy capable of solving the essential national problems. Hence our congress concluded, as our party had previously concluded, that objective conditions exist for the formation of new parties.

Upon becoming apprised of this conclusion from our congress, the PS Standing Committee published a communique in which it claims that there is "political space" (...) for the creation of a new Communist Party (...) that is pluralistic and civilian-oriented."

We are quite well aware of the need felt by these gentlemen for another PC, a party that would not make waves, a party devoid of class spirit, of aggressiveness, of determination and ideals; a divided and discredited party. We realize how such a party would be necessary, not for the workers, not for the people, not for democracy, not for the country, but necessary for big capital, for the counterrevolution and for the PS/PSD government.

But let them scrap the idea there.

PCP is and will be a party loyal to the cause of the workers, the people, the country, of democracy, of national independence, of peace and of socialism.

What does this arrangement of forces mean for the downfall of the PS/PSD government?

It means (the 10th Congress concluded) that either the present party situation and the alliances thereof and the composition in the Assembly of the Republic change , or an alternative government based on a majority of the deputies in the Assembly of the Republic will be impossible.

With the current Assembly of the Republic and the current alliance of PS with PSD and CDS, a government with a parliamentary majority could not fail to be a government with precisely the same policy as "AD" and the PS/PSD government; in other words, a government doomed to failure, a government to worsen the crisis and all the problems even more, a government to be formed and to be brought down, as the "AD" government was; and as the PS/PSD government will be.

In the long run, it would be a stalemate for the institutions.

Therefore, the 10th Congress put forth the idea that, when the PS/PSD government falls, in order to form an alternative government based on a majority in the Assembly of the Republic, one of two conditions will be necessary:

Either PS gives up the alliances with the reactionaries and reconverts to a democratic policy (and it is not acceptable that it do so with Mario Soares, who has become a real leader of the right serving big capital and imperialism).

Or a new democratic party, or new democratic parties are created (and the 10th Congress concluded that the conditions are favorable for them to be created), which would occupy this social area that is now politically void, and thereby gain strong social, political and electoral support that will thoroughly change the present party situation and, through new early elections, thoroughly change the composition of the Assembly of the Republic.

But will that be the only solution when the PS/PSD government falls?

It is a solution, but not the only one.

Whatever the party situation may be at the time of the PS/PSD government's fall, the state in which the government will leave the country will be so serious that it will be absolutely necessary to form a government that will attack the problems with ability, with seriousness, with force and with patriotism, putting an end to petty politicking and the game of ambitions that typifies the present parliamentary majority, and adopting a policy which will undertake a truly national policy in the context of democracy, democratic legality and Portuguese independence.

The 10th Congress described such a government as a democratic government of national salvation, emphasizing that all democrats and patriots, whatever their party affiliation might be, have a stringent obligation to offer their contribution toward making such a government viable.

The 10th Congress emphasized that the PCP, for its part, is receptive toward a study of the viability of such a government. But it stressed something else.

It emphasized that, for Portugal to emerge from the crisis and for the national problems to be solved, the PCP's participation in the government is essential.

It is essential because: all the governments established with the exclusion of the PCP have failed; the problems are becoming worse with the policy of the PS, PSD and CDS; the PCP is thoroughly knowledgeable regarding the problems, and is offering solutions which are entirely in keeping with the national reality and requirements; the PCP is the only large party inextricably linked with the workers and the popular masses, with an influence and a capacity for mobilization.

Willing to contribute to any solution that will guarantee the same goals, in essence, the 10th Congress concluded that the PCP is willing to assume its responsibilities in a democratic government of national salvation, and is prepared for this.

What Are the Major Directions of the Popular Democratic Struggle at Present?

What are the major directions of the popular democratic struggle at present?

The 10th Congress defined the major lines for defense of democracy at the present time: the Constitution and democratic legality, liberties and rights, the new economic organization, the nationalizations and agrarian reform, the interests of the workers and popular masses, the democratic local government, the regular operation of the institutions, the impartiality of the Armed Forces and national independence. It is a fundamental task not to allow the enemies of April to break these major lines of defense. There is a need to organize the defense of all these lines of democracy; to mobilize the masses; to defend the conquests one by one; to engaged in economic struggles, social struggles and political struggles; to defend the workers' living conditions; to struggle against any attempt to worsen them; and to give a response, in kind, to the government's offensives and measures.

Are there, or are there not, conditions for waging these battles successfully?

Yes, there are conditions.

The popular, democratic, workers' movement is an extremely large movement, that is heavily organized, with great experience in struggle and on a definite general ascent.

Sometimes we ourselves do not attach the proper value to the immense strength and inexhaustible potential of the mass movement.

But the mass movement (with the working class in the vanguard) was the deciding force in the democratic changes of the Portuguese revolution, and the deciding force in its defense against the counterrevolutionary offensives.

The 10th Congress devoted a great deal of attention to the organization and struggle of the working class and the popular masses, and indicated as a task that the Communists expend their best efforts to develop those organizations and struggles, always defending and upholding (and this instruction was established in an amendment to the statutes approved by the congress), always defending and upholding the autonomy, democratic nature and unified nature of the organizations and movements.

The 10th Congress underscored the powerful force of the unified labor movement organized around the CGTP-IN [General Federation of Portuguese Workers-National Intersindical], the great and only real labor federation, and the driving force of the organized struggle of the Portuguese workers.

The reactionary forces, big capital, CDS, PSD and PS/Mario Soares, as well as the imperialists, are desperately attempting to break the labor movement's unity, and to weaken CGTP.

But the fact is that CGTP is becoming increasingly strong. And we have signs of this day by day, and we might almost say hour by hour.

Since our meeting here in the pavilion, news has arrived. It is the results of the elections of the Setubal regional local of the Bank Workers Union. Up until now, before these elections the absolute majority was that of a PS-PSD ticket. In the elections the news of which has arrived now, the absolute majority went to the unified ticket.

The 10th Congress also stressed the importance of the Workers Commissions and the Residents Commissions; of the peasant movement, which has hundreds of unified organizations and which in recent years has assumed the nature of a great national movement in the defense of the interests of small and medium-sized farmers and of Portuguese agriculture; of the movement of small and medium-sized merchants and manufacturers, in which a rapid process of conscientization has been revealed.

Of the movement of intellectuals, with diversified reflections in the cultural, political, social, ideological and trade union areas; of the movement of women, whose combative intervention in the struggle is increasingly widespread and intense, and who have valuable unified movements and organizations, such as MDM [Women's Democratic Movement], trade union structural entities and unified commissions; of the youth movement, in its multiple forms and organizations, wherein a decisive role is being played by our magnificent Portuguese Communist Youth (JCP); of the peace movement, including extensive social and political sectors, which has gained a major projection in national life, performing a central task at the present time; of the valuable movement of retired persons; of the valuable movement of the disabled; of the popular associative movement, with thousands of groups for culture, sports, recreation, education and other activities; and of the economic organizations, prominent among which is the cooperative movement and the UCPs/Agrarian Reform Cooperatives.

This is an immense force which, when combined, could be a determining factor in the defeat of the PS/PSD government, for an alternative, for a solution to the crisis, and for guaranteeing the defense and continuity of the democratic regime.

And what about the political area?

Where are the pertinent political forces located?

There is, in the first place, our party, which the 10th Congress confirmed as the great, heroic party of the Portugal of April.

There are our comrades in the MDP [Portuguese Democratic Movement], who are participating with us in the APU and whom we salute here.

There are some small, vacillating groups, but susceptible to being won over.

And there are still thousands of PS members and voters who are expressing their disagreement with the policy of Mario Soares.

And there are thousands upon thousands of independent democrats, democrats who are currently without a party, but who are destined to play a major role in Portuguese political life.

The wonderful social front now moving will end up having pertinent political reflections and, at that time, we shall be able to claim that Portugal's independent democratic future will be completely assured.

As for the immediate tasks, in addition to the entire mass movement and popular struggle, our congress paid particular heed to the forthcoming 1985 presidential elections.

The congress described the foreseeable candidacy of Mario Soares as a right wing candidacy. The comrades and friends will remember that in the planks put to a debate in the party by the Central Committee regarding Mario Soares' candidacy, the PCP's support was said to be precluded for that candidacy. However, there were some who did not completely understand the intention of that statement, and all the more so because it was not completely binding. And questions arose regarding this. So, the Communist Party says that its support for the candidacy is precluded. But suppose the candidacy takes the lead and a situation is created in the run-off election wherein there is Mario Soares and some other candidate, even a candidate of the right. At such a juncture, would the party which did not back the candidacy be willing to give its votes to Mario Soares? The congress responded in the negative. And for this reason, it added to the text that had been proposed in the planks a new statement: In the Political Resolution, it is written that the PCP's support for the candidacy of Mario Soares or any indication of a vote for that candidate is precluded.

Now we must strive so that there will be a democratic candidate; we are not saying that it would be based on agreement by all the forces interested in

democracy, but at least a democratic candidate who, along the line of stabilizing the democratic regime that has been pursued during the most recent terms, could receive the convergence, the confluence of votes from the most varied forces desiring the Portugal of April to live and continue. It is not a matter of working only so that there will be a candidate for the first balloting, but rather a candidate of democracy, a candidate of the democratic regime, a candidate of Portugal as an independent nation, as a free nation which wants to live without being subjected to foreign imperialism, a candidate who will win the elections.

What Is the PCP's Role in Portuguese Democracy?

What is the PCP's role in Portuguese democracy?

The 10th Congress per se, based on its work and everything that it revealed about the orientation, understanding of problems, activity, capacity for achievement, organized force and influence of the party's masses, is proof that the PCP in Portugal is an unparalleled democratic force, a force that is necessary, essential and irreplaceable for solving the major national problems.

As we already know, the 10th Congress dealt at length with the problems of leadership, of cadres, of work style, or organization, of information and propaganda, of publishing, of ideological work, of creative application of Marxism-Leninism and others.

We already know about the election of the new Central Committee, which came to be comprised of 91 active members and 74 alternate ones; in other words, a total of 165 members, 48 of whom are members for the first time.

The worker majority has been maintained in the Central Committee.

There will now be 22 women on the Central Committee (which we consider rather unsatisfactory), eight of whom have been elected for the first time.

At its first plenary meeting, the Central Committee elected the Political Commission, which obtained 25 members, 18 of whom are active, and the Secretariat, which retains the previous composition, with another alternate member elected.

Two women were elected alternate members of the Political Commission, and one woman an alternate member of the Secretariat.

The Central Committee also resolved to create a new entity, the Permanent Political Secretariat, to which five comrades were elected. One purpose is to be an entity to prepare politically the work of the Political Commission and the Central Committee, organs on which the decision-making is incumbent.

Finally, the Central Committee elected as secretary general the comrade who has been discharging those functions.

These decisions, considered as a whole, constitute an actual renewal of the leadership entities, combining in the collective work cadres with many years in the party and long experience, and newer cadres that have also shown great evidence of ability and dedication.

As for organization, the number of party members exceeds 200,000 (200,753), not including the Communist youth; representing an increase of 36,040 in comparison with the number at the time of the Ninth Congress, held in 1979.

The number of women members of the party rose to 43,451, representing an increment of 9,615 women over 1979.

Hence, at the 10th Congress the party appeared reinforced, with an uplifting practice of collective endeavor and internal democracy, united, joined together, determined and ready to continue the struggle with the workers and the popular masses, prepared to assume its responsibilities for a democratic alternative to the present policy and the present government.

The PCP has no pretensions of being able, of itself alone, to bring about a democratic alternative and to solve the national problems.

But it has the certainty that without the Communists, without the workers and without the people, the national problems can never be solved.

In following the guidance given by the 10th Congress, we shall expend all our efforts to reinforce the unity of the workers, the unity of all the social forces interested in an alternative and the unity, or at least the confluence of the work, the efforts and the struggle of all democrats and patriots.

With the congress finished, we have major tasks ahead of us. We shall work untiringly to perform them.

Democracy has more strength than reaction.

The PS/ISD government will be defeated.

The Portuguese people have sufficient strength to prevent the disaster and to achieve a democratic alternative that will cause the country to emerge from the crisis and will ensure that Portugal will resume the path of April, for the good of the people and for the good of the fatherland.

With the PCP, the Portuguese people will continue April.

Long live the Portuguese Communist Party!

2909

CSO: 3542/27

HERRI BATASUNA GIVES DETAILS OF ELECTORAL PROGRAM

Guipuzcoa EGIN in Spanish 8 Feb 83 pp 2-3

[Text] Yesterday, Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity] introduced to the Euskal Herria news media its political program for the autonomous elections in the three Basque provinces. Santiago Brouard, Miguel Castells, Joselu Cereceda, Inaki Aldekoa, Itziar Aizpurua, Inaki Ruiz de Pinedo and Inigo Iruin (who was responsible for making an evaluation of the administration carried out during the past 4 years by the autonomous entity) were the spokesmen yesterday for the abertzale [patriotic] coalition at the press conference held in a downtown hotel in San Sebastian. During the course of it, HB described from a political, economic, social and cultural standpoint the offer that it is making to the entire Basque citizenry, aimed (as Santiago Brouard pointed out) at creating a single alliance of the working class in Euskadi, so that it may be the leading force in this country.

In the words of this outstanding leader of the coalition, Herri Batasuna did not want to confine itself to announcing an electoral program yesterday, but rather a "plan for national recovery in the face of the national, social and economic extinction of our people." He said: "It is the same program that KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] had 7 years ago, explained in different terms. In short, it is a program for a total change in the social context, the conquest of which will be distressing, long and difficult, but it is the only one, considering the reform, which is already in its death throes."

Herri Batasuna's offer described yesterday was also depicted by the veteran abertzale leader as "the only program for a solution." He said: "One is either on the side of the working class, or one is against it,"; adding: "Either the Basque economy is bolstered, or one is on the side of the multi-nationals."

'HB, Only Opposition Force'

Inaki Ruiz de Pinedo, the first of the spokesmen to comment, stressed the fact that the election campaign about to begin is very important to Herri Batasuna because, in its opinion, the results of these elections will be indicators of the deterioration in the second phase of the reform and of how the election promises "for change" were based merely "on words and false promises."

Ruiz de Pinedo subsequently noted that the campaign on this occasion would be based on the real statement of what the situation is like in Euskadi, setting forth the solutions to the most fundamental problems being experienced by our people.

As the politician from Alava (who heads the HB ticket representing that province) remarked, the current political period is extremely important for its coalition, and "not only because of the significance that the elections may represent. The fact that Herri Batasuna is the only opposition force (he stressed this) is clearly indicated by its identification on the part of all political forces, all of them, as the force to beat in these elections."

After emphasizing that, in some elections, there is only a waste of time and money to oppose the options carrying weight, and to oppose the forces which attest to the breakdown in those parties, Ruiz de Pinedo declared that PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] would suffer a setback in these elections. His prediction for PNV [Basque Nationalist Party], although it might still retain a sizable number of votes, as he said, was that the "institutional crisis that will occur in the future will create major crises for it, just as for other political options that will be gradually reduced."

'The Statutory Expedient, a Dead Expedient'

Inigo Iruin, second on the HB ticket in Guipuzcoa and also second to speak yesterday, reported on the evaluation that its coalition has made of the 4 years of the statutory process in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country. His assessment began with the use of these adjectives: "negative, discardable, ineffective, lacking in capacity."

Iruin said: "It has become obvious to HB that the statutory expedient is a dead, defunct expedient which, far from achieving that recovery for the Basque people to which Herri Batasuna aspires, has led to the political, economic, social and cultural downfall of Euskadi."

As the Basque attorney pointed out, the resounding failure of the statutory expedient stems from a "flaw of origin," like that of the Spanish Constitution, rejected in Euskadi, and the political framework derived from this Constitution, expressed in terminology as "the State of Autonomy," which, in Iruin's view, "does not go beyond creating a means for mere administrative decentralization concealed under the guise of possessing a political nature, but which actually 'has collapsed' owing to the small amount of legislative capacity in the Basque autonomous institutions."

In this connection, he stressed the total subordination in the realm of authority, which is held exclusively by the central government, and the limits and controls that the Constitution itself imposes which, in the long run, actually mean no granting of political power to the Basque institutions.

Sovereignty

Iruin subsequently commented on the concept of "sovereignty," entailing the traditional division: a legislative, executive and judicial branch which,

in theory, would be synonymous with a Basque Parliament, a Basque Government and an administration of justice.

Iruin noted: "The three branches are heading toward mere decentralization, without any political essence."

The HB candidate noted: "As for the legislative branch, the lack of immunity and inviolability for Basque members of Parliament, a fundamental issue for this coalition and for other political forces, is highly significant and symptomatic." He added: "This issue has determined the nature of the entire Parliament."

He remarked that in the "Basque" Parliament, its members lack inviolability and immunity, and that this fact was debated in that very forum on the occasion involving Inaki Pikabea, a Basque prisoner elected by HB, at the time of the trials concerning Gernika and, recently, following the statements made by Ruiz de Pinedo and Idigoras at the "Ritz breakfasts." All of them were tried without need for letters rogatory.

Second-Class Parliament

Immunity is a key issue for HB which, as a PNV member of Parliament noted in the debates on this topic, thinks that "it is not a matter of routine, it is a matter of making it clear whether this Parliament is on paper or is real, whether this Parliament is first or second-class." As the PNV spokesmen in the Vitoria Chamber stated at the time, "It is an issue which makes clear whether or not this Parliament has dignity."

After all, Iruin remarked, using the same terms applied by the spokesmen for PNV, EE [Basque Left] and PSOE in the Basque Chamber, "This Parliament is on paper and is second-class, and does not have the dignity inherent in a Chamber." because, he recalled, "we already know what has happened to all the Basque members of Parliament who have been tried."

He later commented on the legislative progress of the Parliament over 4 years, describing it as subjected to the context of the Statute of Moncloa. It is this statute which demarcates the legislative authority and regulatory powers of the "Basque" Parliament. He observed: "The Statute of Moncloa, in determining the Basque Parliament's legislative powers, stipulates specifically in Article 10 a few residual powers; inasmuch as Article 149 of the Spanish Constitution has assigned the most important laws exclusively to the State. And not only these but, throughout the Statute there constantly appears the clause 'without detriment to Article 149' or, in other words, without detriment to the State's authority."

Source of Conflicts

After noting that it is this precisely which has given rise to conflicts such as that relating to the issue of the secretaries in the municipal councils, resolved in favor of the central government by the Constitutional Court, he

pointed out that, according to Herri Batasuna, the Statute of Gernika "from Moncloa, " includes among its paragraphs constant catch-words clearly indicating that what has been stated in it is "in accordance with the laws of the State, " "in accordance with the general legislation," etc.

Limits on "solidarity" and "equality" are also called for in the statute; limits which, in the view of HB, as Iruin remarked, "are very important, because they conceal all the antinationalist and centralist desires of the State." He also commented on the limits of general concern, citing the example of the LOAPA [Organic Law for Harmonization of the Autonomous Process] and the impossibility of passing laws in the realm of public rights and freedoms.

He said: "The Basque Parliament has no opportunity to legislate with regard to freedom of assembly, association, demonstration, etc., for the simple reason that these areas are regulated by means of organic laws issued only by the Spanish Cortes."

He also mentioned the cuts made in the statute by the laws which the Spanish Cortes per se promulgate (LODE, etc.), which the Basque Government has been constantly describing as opposed to the statute and against which it has brought constant appeals.

In conclusion, Iruin stated that the Basque Parliament's 4 years have enabled this Chamber to "legislate its own political and institutional downgrading, discrediting itself on the basis of laws that have been promulgated either with institutional laws or with sectorial laws."

As for the former (Government Law and LTH), Iruin said that they have afforded an opportunity for PNV to make the deputyships the center of institutions, instead of the Basque Parliament, which has been removed from its role.

According to Iruin, "the LTH entails the increased disregard for the Basque Chamber which, of itself, was confronted with the ordinary government institutions (deputyships)."

As for the sectorial laws, they attest to the small area of authority afforded by the framework of the statute which, according to Iruin, limits the Basque Chamber to such an extent that it has no option other than to create another socioeconomic model different from the one being carried out by the central government.

Iruin stated in conclusion, "If the Basque laws demarcate the maximum level of Basque political power, the analysis of the progress in the legislative branch shows that the Autonomous Community does not enjoy political power, and is heading purely and simply toward administrative decentralization."

'Basque Government, a Hollow Shell'

In connection with the so-called "executive branch," the second aspect selected by Iruin to focus his analysis of the Basque Government, he noted that

throughout the past 4 years, "we have observed the removal of two council members (the one for justice and the one for culture), with the absorption of these two councils, despite their enormous importance, into the Council of Education and an undersecretariat, that of justice."

According to Herri Batasuna's nominee, "This proves the limited authority that exists in the Basque Government which, so to speak, has these two councils left over." In this regard, Iruin was categorical, and asked: "What government can be allowed to do this?"

He added: "The president of this government remains unmoving, unable to defend the Basque citizens who are enslaved as they are in Tolosa, Hondarribia, Orereta, etc. He remains unmoving, and allows over 5,000 Basques to be kept incommunicado, with the implementation of the Antiterrorist Law; when the Territorial Court of Pamplona (in response to an appeal filed by Iruin himself and never by the Basque Government) admitted that they could have been aided by a lawyer."

The attorney concluded by describing the Basque Government as "a hollow shell" in which an internal crisis has erupted: "It should not be forgotten that Garaikoetxea's crisis with his party was not on account of discipline, but rather on account of the LTH."

Finally, in commenting on the judicial branch, Iruin stressed that the Basque Government has also been in evidence in this area, because the statute does not even mention the judicial branch of an administration of justice. The entire burden in this area falls on the creation of the Superior Court of Justice in the Basque Country, which has not been started, "and will not be established for a long time." In this connection, he emphasized that there will always be a total subordination to the Supreme Court and the National Court.

In conclusion, to end the evaluation made by Herri Batasuna of the 4 years of the institutions, this coalition notes that there is no political power in the Basque Government and that it will soon embark on a crisis, just as has occurred in the Navarra institutions.

According to HB, the Basque institutions are isolated socially, and hence have not been legitimized. Iruin said: "The people do not trust these institutions."

Inaki Aldekoa began his remarks by stating that he would not speak on the issue of Navarra from the standpoint used in slogans by other parties during the referendum on the State of Moncloa ("Nafarroa Euskadin Estatutoarekin"), or from the perspective of "all the promises about Navarra that have been unkept." He stressed: "It would be wasting powder on salvos, because no one gives a cent for such arguments."

"Nevertheless," Aldekoa remarked, "I must make it clear that it is impossible for Navarra's incorporation to be achieved by means of the statute, and for this purpose one need only observe what the Basque Government has achieved

with Trebino." He stated: "It is incapable of incorporating it into the 'herrialde' where it would be natural, despite the fact that its municipal councils have assumed a position on behalf of this incorporation and despite the fact that it is totally contained in all the provisions and all the details and the most minute letter of the statute."

It is clear to Aldekoa that, if the Basque Government has been incapable of incorporating this portion of land into Alava, "with all the statements and data in its favor, how would they be capable of incorporating Navarara, using no device?" Furthermore, he stressed: "There would have to be a great deal of debating as to whether Navarra must be incorporated on certain levels."

The Navarran elected by HB later cautioned that, despite the fact that Navarra was acting "ridiculously" from an institutional standpoint in the eyes of the entire State owing to the crisis that its institutions are experiencing, "a similar crisis will soon occur in Vascongadas." He added: "Navarra is a reflection of what will happen here soon; in other words, the level of contradictions that has existed in Navarra is appearing with increasingly clarity in Vascongadas."

As Aldekoa explained, this crisis will force the legislature not to become exhausted. Furthermore, according to HB's elected candidate, the legislature of the Autonomous Community without Navarra will be different, "without the enchantment, and without a solution in sight, realizing that all the holes are sealed, and with the crisis brewing within the party which to date has been a majority one; a crisis in which the process of crisis in the Vascongadas institutions is starting. Let no one expect that the capital will agree to programs for full employment; because it is lying as is being done in the case of various presentations of economic programs of the different political groups."

As Cereceda remarked, Herri Batasuna's program needs solidarity from all the workers and not only from them, but also from among those earning high income (10 percent of the population of Southern Euskadi), and those earning low income, who are the ones hardest hit by the crisis.

He added: "If we analyze the recent mobilizations of 3 February, or the recent workers' mobilizations, we realize that Euskadi is becoming a genuine powder-keg."

The solution proposed by HB was described by Cereceda as "technically possible," but needs a change in logic, within a new context in Euskadi, including the nationalization of the banks, a tax system of its own, and a normalized society; "in other words, the attainment of the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] alternative." He added: "Only with this alternative is our program viable."

Basically, the program set forth by Cereceda is founded upon the following points: a more egalitarian distribution of income, without holdings; a non-bureaucratic but rather participatory control of the economy; a policy of

harmonizing modern development and the environment; the establishment of soft types of technology; and a policy of harmony between work and leisure time.

Herri Batasuna calls for aid to small business firms in a state of crisis; nationalization of the basic sectors (financial and energy sectors); intensive investment, that has been wasted, in firms which generate employment; reduction in the public sector's work day to 30 hours per week; for 4 years, a reduction in workdays for jobs on shifts; establishment of a fourth or a fifth shift subsidized by the authentic Basque Government; reduction of weekly work to 20 or 25 hours in instances of a divided workday, starting work on the basis of a morning shift and another one in the afternoon.

Based upon HB's calculations, in this way 80,000 jobs could be created, amounting to 160,000 jobs. Finally, they call for the promotion of public services, particularly culture, education, "euskaldunization," health, housing and public works, with the creation of 40,000 jobs in 4 years.

As for the financing of this technical offer (estimated at 165 billion pesetas per year), Cereceda noted that when the number of unemployed, the subsidy for whom costs 45 billion pesetas per year, declines, this money would be recovered for the financing. To be added to this is a surcharge on those earning high income, which would contribute about 60 billion per year; the application of progressive surcharges on large holdings (inheritances and extra profits), which will contribute 30 billion pesetas per year; while the other 30 billion pesetas to reach the total financing figure per year would come from the public debt issue underwritten by popular savings, and also sold abroad.

As Cereceda declared, with these data and with the structural parameters, "we believe that we could achieve a growth rate of about 5-6 percent in the gross domestic product."

'We Independents Are Human Too'

Miguel Castells was the Herri Batasuna spokesman who talked on this occasion to discuss amnesty, human rights and democratic liberties.

The Basque lawyer, picking up on Cereceda's last remarks, gave a reminder that one of the human rights recognized by the international forums is the right to work.

Castells also claimed that the liberation and resistance movements are not the cause, but rather the effect of the lack of human rights in Euskal Herria. In this regard he stressed that, if torturing continues with the statute, there are no democratic liberties in Vascongadas. The Basque attorney subsequently stated that "women, independents" and other excluded sectors are also human beings; hence they too have access to the human rights established internationally. "If human rights are not upheld and acknowledged, there will be no democratic liberties, and therefore no democracy," He added: "The right to the truth is the principal and primary fundamental right of all rights."

After giving a reminder that one of the petitions in the KAS alternative was for the withdrawal of the FOP [Forces of Public Order] from Euskadi, Castells cited the right to free speech as being synonymous with the right to the truth.

The Basque attorney also discussed the right to self-determination accepted by the UN, and stated that, despite the statement made by Garaikoetxea at the "Ritz breakfasts" (the lehendakari had said that, "the right to self-determination does not have a realistic place"), "a terrible, horrible, comment," according to Castells, the right to self-determination is "as important as life itself, and the violation thereof denies the real life of Basque society."

Castells denounced the fact that the Basque autonomous entities and the parties revolving around them have become increasingly dissociated from the Basque reality, seeking the sacred unity of the nation between what is possible and what is realistic. He added: "Furthermore, for the sake of taking a path of reality in Euskadi, they are imposing an increasing amount of repression."

Insofar as amnesty is concerned, he noted, among other things, that what was claimed years ago is still true: "It is the dividing line between those who repress and those who are repressed."

2909

CSO: 3548/189

SURVEY OF BASQUE POLITICAL PARTY STANDINGS

Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 10 Feb 84 pp 6-7

[Article by Bilbao correspondent Juan Manuel Idoyaga]

[Text] Terrorism and unemployment are the two main issues that will govern the debates and confrontations among the parties and coalitions appearing in the Basque Country elections. The campaign begins today.

The attempt to block the election debate with a bipartisan discussion on the options offered by PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] and PNV [Basque Nationalist Party] has failed in the Basque Country. Neither the criticism of the Nationalist administration by PSOE nor the "war of the signs" during the pre-election period has succeeded in polarizing the attention of the electorate which has now been diverted to more significant matters, such as the growing violence and the industrial reconversion process, which will be the ones typifying the features of the campaign from now on, although they may not exactly benefit the two parties engaged in government tasks.

As expected, the activities of ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] and GAL [Autonomous Libertarian Group] have again made extremely timely the need for a normalization among the citizenry of the Basque Country; while the increasing opposition of masses of workers to the risk of losing employment has also turned economic planning into an all-important issue that could determine the position of a large portion of the electorate which, in previous elections, cast its vote based on a different type of sympathy.

The parties have submitted their programs for dealing with the two fundamental points in a decisive manner. PSOE has already come out in favor of a forceful policy based on police activity to eliminate both problems. In its policy, PNV insisted upon offering solutions based upon backing for its program to probe into the statute, while evading a commitment on industrial reconversion, confining itself to criticizing the Socialist plans.

There will be a discussion of the violence and reconversion, despite the "two great ones," and the electorate will attentively follow the solutions proposed by the others as well.

In any event, HB's [Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity)] aspiration is opposed to having the election debates polarize attention between the institutions, which would include the various solutions offered by PSOE, PNV, the Popular Coalition and Euskadiko Ezkerra [Basque Left], on the one hand, and the "rupturists," whose main defense is borne by Popular Unity, HB.

It all depends on the state of instability that may continue in the Basque Country during the campaign period. Only if the activity of ETA and GAL stops will it be possible to retrieve other issues for the parliamentary debate; otherwise, the large budget allocated by PSOE to offer its alternative for government, in opposition to the continuity of PNV, which will also appropriate large sums for its campaign, could be wasted on the apathy of a rather weary electorate seeking rather immediate solutions.

PNV, the First

With the internal crisis caused by the differences between Carlos Garaicoechea and his party's executive body just surmounted, PNV is facing these elections for the Basque Parliament with favorable expectations.

Its government program offers a future image of dialog for solving all the most pressing problems of the autonomous community. The dialog on pacification, which Xabier Arzalluz himself is gearing toward "the search for new means for understanding because (as he points out), cooperation cannot begin after the introduction of finished laws difficult to change, nor when one of the parties is confined to being a mere executor of the decisions that have been made," is the basis of the program that it is presenting to its voters.

PNV has also confronted the issue of reconversion, stressing that, "it is not enough to have a good plan, but rather it must be discussed with the parties concerned. We want the entire society to be burdened with the problem, even undertaking a tax reform and an increase in the tax pressure."

The results that may be accrued from this PNV program also entail a position of internal reconversion of the party itself, in an attempt to recover the radical sectors which have broken off from the official obedience in recent years.

A general amnesty is even being offered to all the dispersed Nationalists, including Sabinians, in order to attain its goal: an absolute majority in Parliament that will make way for the possibility of the party's being able to govern without problems.

PSOE, Fewer Votes

Faced with the labor sectors affected by industrial reconversion, the situation offered to PSE [Spanish Socialist Party]-PSOE in these parliamentary elections does not appear to be very favorable. It is already being indicated that the Socialists will experience a considerable decline, but the party's leaders are attempting to recover the electorate and, for this purpose, they will try

to explain that, "reconversion is a step toward achieving economic structures that are competitive in view of the forthcoming entry into the Common Market."

The hard-line position on the issue of violence and the treatment of the Basque problem also appears as a two-edged sword. It may satisfy certain sectors of immigrants, but it will unquestionably earn widespread rejection among the Basque public. The Socialists' difficulties involving the internal differences between the sectors headed by Ricardo Garcia Damborenea and Txiki Benegas seem to have been solved.

This internal cohesion benefits the party's image among the Basque electorate and so the party's program will be concentrated on a denunciatory attack on the Nationalist administration and on the offering of a regional alternative for government that will show "the image of consistency stemming from a common position among all the autonomous communities, also with the opportunities afforded by control of the central government."

HB, for All

The repercussions of the results accrued by HB in these parliamentary elections, which could determine the international position regarding the so-called Basque problem, appear as perhaps the most significant item of information from these elections. The abertzale [patriotic] coalition is dealing with the election campaign from this standpoint. Apart from formulating its by now traditional positions on the pacification in the Basque Country, HB is now presenting for the first time an economic program designed to deal with the issue of industrial reconversion.

The abertzales claim that, "200,000 jobs could be generated if the present situation were changed first and a solidarity pact were established among the different income levels."

The problem of discouragement in a battle that has an aspect of great harshness and has thus far shown meager results in the options for government is one of the difficulties that these radical Nationalist sectors have to confront. "ETA's activity is aimed at paving the way for a negotiating opportunity and this expectation could prompt sectors of voters to change their position from the abstention of disillusionment to voting for this alternative of institutional change."

CP, the Right

A campaign based on the "useful vote," meant to evince a message based on "neither Nationalism nor Socialism," is the goal to be attained by the alternative offered in the Basque Country by the program of the Popular Coalition, comprised of AP [Popular Alliance], PDP [Popular Democratic Party] and UL.

Based on the election polls, not too many opportunities are offered, but the fact is that the future of an alternative that contains chances for alternation in power on the state level is an interesting accoutrement for the Basque right.

In any event, at the present time the area for that alternative is grouped around PNV, and the personal differences that have arisen among the members of the coalition, which appear to have been surmounted, are also an obstacle to having the anti-Socialist vote concentrate on the coalition.

The efforts of its promoters to lend the coalition dynamics of national responsibility could benefit the recovery that is being sought by this political sector.

EE, Repentant

The greatest difficulties in the Basque political spectrum for this parliamentary campaign relate to the Euskadiko Eskerra coalition. The slogan of its program based on the notion that "Euskadi has a solution," is meant to be founded upon a procedure of dialog and negotiations arranged with the procedures involving reinstatement for the former ETA activists.

The Election Results in Euskadi

	General 1977	General 1979	Municipal 1979	Autonomous 1980	General 1982	Municipal 1983
Census	1,340,244	1,547,472	1,559,865	1,567,061	1,531,843	1,565,188
Abstention	299,129	526,297	616,487	635,823	310,997	551,931
PNV	290,297	275,292	345,819	349,897	379,293	383,850
PSOE	264,115	190,205	154,111	130,484	348,620	256,117
HB	-	149,685	183,584	152,097	175,857	133,901
EE	62,725	80,097	70,260	90,005	91,936	77,683
PCE	49,994	45,893	-	36,991	20,954	20,833
Others	171,218	52,986	80,175	33,974	33,835	35,300
UCD	129,845	168,607	116,454	78,174	-	-
AP	44,123	34,108	(1)	43,882	-	-

(1) UCD and AP appeared as a coalition in the 1979 municipal elections in some districts.

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CSO: 3548/189

FORCES CHIEF WANTS PHOTO CENSORSHIP IN ANTISUB OPERATIONS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Feb 84 p 20

[Text] Supreme Commander Lennart Ljung is considering trial directives for the examination of aerial pictures in the press and on television.

This appears from a note to the attorney general (JK) in which the OB [Supreme Commander] said that in his view on 6 October 1983 the newspaper EXPRESSEN published a picture of military facilities on Gotland in conflict with current regulations. The JK felt the publication of this picture endangered the safety of the nation.

The background for the OB's discontent is the liberal judgment in Stockholm District Court recently in which the JK's charges against EXPRESSEN and AFTONBLADET were dismissed.

The OB complained to the JK last October about the two papers, claiming they had violated freedom of the press.

According to the OB the unlawful publication consisted in the fact that the two papers published an aerial picture and a sketch respectively of a mine station. There too the OB felt publication involved endangering national defense. The JK shared the OB's view and brought charges against both newspapers.

This time the charge involves a picture of a Polish sailboat that ran aground near a military installation at Faludden, Gotland, in October. In the picture the boat can be seen in the foreground, with the military facility in the background.

According to current law, aerial pictures of Swedish areas cannot be distributed unless the picture has been approved by the OB. An examination is made for details that could be of importance for the national defense.

6578

CSO: 3650/120

STATISTICS ON PROJECTED 1984 OIL IMPORTS

Athens I VRADYNI in Greek 14 Jan 84 p 13

[Article: "8.3 Million Tons of Oil To Be Imported in 1984"]

[Text] The program for oil imports has been submitted to the Ministry of National Economy by the Ministry of Energy and National Resources. According to the program, the projected needs of the country have risen to 9.3 million tons of oil.

According to the statement of Mr Evangelos Kouloumbis, Minister of Energy and National Resources, oil will be provided this year mainly through interstate agreements. Part of the oil will be provided to our country by the USSR. As the Minister of Energy clarified, the alternate Minister of National Economy, Mr K. Vaitzos, will go to Moscow for related discussions.

The projected amount of imports is expected to reach 8.3 million tons. The remaining needs will be satisfied by oil from Prinos. Meanwhile, as the Ministry of Energy and National Resources declared yesterday, the existing agreement between the Northern Aegean Oil Company, which exploits the Prinos oil, and the Greek national refinery Aspropirgos, for the import of crude oil expires at the beginning of July 1984 and will be reviewed. As Mr Kouloumbis stated, the original anticipated cost of the import of oil by the Aspropirgos refineries was 33.5 dollars per barrel. But after the 1982 review, the estimated cost fell to the level of 29.9 dollars per barrel for 1982 and 26.4 dollars for 1983.

Meanwhile, in the first semester of 1984, it became known that the company has already made use of the right, arising from related agreements with the state, to export 50 percent of the oil produced in Prinos, if it could sell the oil at higher prices than that which it sells to the National Refinery.

At any rate, according to reports the company found a buyer--BP of France, at a selling price of 27.7 dollars per barrel. The Minister of Energy said yesterday that the total cost of oil imports was 3.060 billion dollars, with an average price per ton of 2.74 dollars. In 1982, it was 2.070 billion dollars with a mean value per ton of 2.51 dollars; in 1973 1.75 billion dollars with an average price per ton of 2.17 dollars.

OIL EXPLORATION SCHEDULED OFF COSTA BRAVA

Barcelona AVUI in Catalan 25 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by S. J. Llierca]

[Text] Gerona (Girones)--Petroleum prospecting off the Costa Brava shore will definitely begin on 1 February, although possibly the vessel responsible for carrying out the surveys, which will leave the harbor of Cadiz tomorrow, will have reached the harbor of Palamos the day before, that is, on 31 January.

Just as we explained to our newspaper some days back, these explorations will be made at a point on the Costa Brava about 10 kilometers distant from the shoreline of the district of Calonge, between the towns of Sant Feliu de Guixols and Palamos.

Hilrei J. Watson [sic], director of the Chevron Oil Company of Spain, one of the companies receiving a concession for the Roses-2 prospecting permit, explained at a press conference held yesterday at the branch offices of the territorial services of Industry of the Gerona districts all the details of this oil research operation. Hilrei J. Watson, along with other directors of the company and Daniel Avill, head of the mining services of the Gerona districts, also will dine at Palamos with the mayors of Begur, Palafrugell, Montras, Palamos, Calonge, Castell-Platja d'Aro, Sant Feliu de Guixols, Santa Cristina d'Aro, Tossa de Mar, Lloret de Mar and Blanes, to whom all the details of the future operation were explained.

This exploration called Roses-2, constitutes an obligation for the three companies receiving the concession, since it is included in a group of four explorations that these companies will pledge to carry out; it was supposed to begin before 23 June and it is anticipated that it will last, although it could take some days more, about 60 days. The three companies are INIEPSA--the one that is contributing 25 percent of the cost funding--Chevron Oil and Texaco, which together will contribute the remaining 75 percent.

Operations in Two Phases

The prospecting operations will have two phases: the first is to search for oil and the second is to define the volume of the pocket. In previous

explorations carried out on the Costa Brava, oil, and high-quality oil, has always been found, but not enough for it to be worked. If this time the result is positive, it will be necessary to prepare a program of operations or development, and also for the three companies to ask for a concession, since so far they only have permission for exploration. In spite of everything, those in charge at Chevron estimate that there is a 5 percent possibility that the final result of this whole petroleum research operation on the Costa Brava will be completely satisfactory.

The "Taley Bristol," a very modern vessel that depends on the work of 100 workers and the rent for which will cost 1.6 million dollars--it is estimated that the total cost of these explorations will exceed 6.88 million dollars--will be the basic tool or instrument used in this petroleum exploration operation, which will take place at 110 meters in depth underwater. There is talk of going to a maximum depth of 3,000 meters, since the primary objective is centered between 1,200 and 2,400 meters.

Whatever the result of this exploration happens to be, others have been anticipated in Catalonia, both to the north as well as to the south of those so far on the Costa Brava shoreline, as well as in the interior, specifically in the Pyreness area.

The coming months, or perhaps years, will still see the frequent presence in the principality of multinational companies dedicated to carrying out petroleum explorations like, for instance, INIEPSA, Union Texas, Rio Tinto, Shell --which will do the Roses-1 prospecting, to the north of those which the Chevron Company has carried out on the Costa Brava--Texaco, etc.

12448

CSO: 3548/173

ELECTRIC COMPANIES NEGOTIATE TO COVER DEBTS

Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Jan 84 p 35

[Article by R. Ovejero and J. M. Urquijo]

[Text] Madrid--The Spanish electric companies are negotiating, on both the foreign and domestic markets, diverse operations designed to cover their financial needs in 1984. The total volume of indebtedness anticipated so far comes to the equivalent of 150 billion pesetas, in different currencies, mainly dollars, yen and pounds sterling.

The possibility that the dollar will start a downward trend, linked to the high types of interest on the national market, and to the deliberate hesitations of the Spanish banks to direct long-term syndicated credits on the domestic market, have moved the electric companies to reinstitute their outlays abroad.

By 27 December last, Electric Power of Catalonia, Inc (FECSA) signed on the Japanese market a loan in yen for a value equivalent to 160 million dollars. Now, after 3 years' absence on the foreign markets, Spanish Hydroelectric (HIDROLA) has granted a mandate to obtain a credit for 180 million dollars and 55 million pounds sterling. Other firms in the sector, like Seville, Iberduero, ENDESA, ENHER and EIASA, are about to conclude operations of this type.

Despite the fact that these loans are being negotiated under less optimal conditions, as far as types are concerned, than the latest outlays made by public companies or with government guarantee, it is commented by sources in the sector that these outlays may be rated as favorable.

Seville Electric Company has obtained a credit of 75 million dollars with possible expansion to 90, which will be signed in the middle of February. The operation consists of four sections negotiated in dollars and pounds at 50 percent. The first two, at 4 and 7 years have been negotiated at 1/2 and 5/8 respectively, on the prime rate (U.S. preferential type); the section in pounds, at the same time limits, was fixed at 3/4 and 7/8, respectively on the Libor (type of interbank market in London). Chase Manhattan is the agent bank, and Nova Scotia is acting as coagent. The Irving

Trust, Sumitomo, Mitsui, Union Bank of Finland and Postipankki and the ECSC [European Coal and Steel Community] are participating as ranking heads [jefes de fila].

Spanish Hydroelectric has granted, for its part, a mandate to the Manufacturers Hannover for the preparation of a credit syndicated for a total value of 260 million dollars; 180 million in U.S. currency and 55 million in pounds sterling. The section in dollars is going at 7/8 on the Libor or 5/8 on the prime rate and the pounds will be turned into cash at 3/4 on the Libor, in both cases at 7 years, with 4 grace years. The Royal Bank of Canada, Chemical, Nova Scotia, Marine Midland, Banesto, Fuji, Arab Bank, Sanwa and Mitsubishi, will act as directors.

Iberduero has granted a mandate to the Chase Manhattan Bank to direct and coordinate an operation on the foreign market and a second on the domestic market.

The total amount of these operations comes to 125 million dollars, which represents almost half the 35 billion pesetas that the company needs in 1984 and a good part of the following year. In the foreign operations, the total amount will not exceed 100 million dollars.

For the rest, bond issues and electric company bonds will be used within the domestic market. The operation in pesetas has a novel structure, since it combines elements of types of fluctuating interest with a structure of fixed payments most in accord with the flow of funds of an electric company.

For its part, the National Electricity Enterprise, Inc (ENDESA), has designed for this year a complex package of operations, all abroad, for financing 40 billion pesetas. The project, still pending approval by the Institute of Official Credit, includes a syndicated loan in pesetas for 15 billion through an agent bank and another, for 5 billion, via the stock exchange. The remaining 5 billion will be obtained by means of a bond issue. All the operations have as agents and joint underwriters the Hispano American Bank and the Madrid Savings Bank.

Electric Company Financing for 1984

Seville	75 million dollars
HIDROLA	180 million dollars
	55 million pounds sterling
Iberduero	100 million dollars
	4 billion pesetas
ENDESA	40 billion pesetas
ENHER	50 million dollars
EIASA	2.5 billion pesetas
FECSA	160 million dollars in yen

The conditions of mandate for the syndication of the loan would be: 7 years with 4 grace years, negotiated at 50 percent on the Mibor (type of interbank market in Madrid), with a margin of 7/8, and the other half referred to the

preference with a margin over one point if it is for one and 0.25 if it is for three.

The Ribagorza National Hydroelectric Enterprise (ENHER) is also preparing its financial operations. For the moment, it has mandated to the First Chicago the syndication on the Euromarket of a 50-million-dollar, 8-year loan, at a type of 5/8 on the Libor. Yesterday a meeting was held between the participating banks on the syndication, and the agreement may be signed in a couple of weeks. The banks which would contribute 10 million dollars each are, in addition to the First Chicago Bank, the Fuji Bank and the Hispano American Bank.

12448

CSO: 3548/173

SALMONETE OIL PRODUCTION EXCEEDS INITIAL ESTIMATES

Barcelona AVUI in Catalan 5 Feb 84 p 5

[Text] It Will Produce Over 200,000 Tons a Year

A new oil well in Tarragona will exceed initial forecasts.

The Salmonete oilfield, discovered on 26 January at Sant Carles de la Rapita, can produce over 200,000 tons of crude at the end of the year. This figure is considered meaningful and exceeds initial estimates.

Tarragona (Tarragones)--The oil survey on the Salmonete well, located at Sant Carles de la Rapita, is yielding very positive results, according to sources at ENIEPSA, the company receiving the concession. Salmonete is a new oil field discovered this past 26 January, and located some 45 kilometers from the coast of Sant Carles.

Six Billion Pesetas Annually

As AVUI has published, the oil discovered is of very good quality--44 degrees API--and its exploitation could bring in revenues of 6 billion pesetas annually. According to new data from the company receiving the concession, Salmonete-1 may reach a production level of over 200,000 tons of crude a year, a figure which is considered meaningful and which exceeds initial estimates.

The previous positive results at Tarragona were obtained at the Montanazo-C-1 well, located at about 30 kilometers from the coast.

Oil Prospecting at Palamos

Also on the Costa Brava, a few days ago a new series of oil explorations began. This time the place is 6 miles from the beach at Palamos. The Chevron Oil Company of Spain has been the one to charter the vessel "Tolly Bristol" which will be working 60 days. The "Tolly Bristol," in order to be able to carry out its mission properly, is anchored with eight anchors in a muddy place; it will also remain stabilized in dynamic position, controlled by propellers.

If oil is found at Palamos, Spanish production would increase. Last year, this came to 2.9 million tons, in the face of a consumption that approaches 50 million tons annually. The production of the Salmonete well is estimated at over 3,500 barrels or 500 tons daily, something which constitutes some 5.9 percent of national production. Although not directly, Sant Carles de la Rapita, a place where the latest oil well was discovered, is related to Palamos by one fact: the two auxiliary vessels of the "Tolly Bristol" installed on the Costa Brava are Spanish and are based in Sant Carles. These two tugs are the "Gallardo" and the "Punta Service," both 60 meters in length and having 7,000 and 8,000 horsepower, respectively.

Life on the Oil Ships

The oil platform workers or oil prospecting workers usually are paid high wages, but their rhythm of life and their working conditions make them somewhat different from other people. To go to work, they have to move, by helicopter or by ship, from the land to some kilometers out at sea. They usually work in round-the-clock shifts that last a week and afterwards go home to recover from the job for approximately 2 weeks.

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